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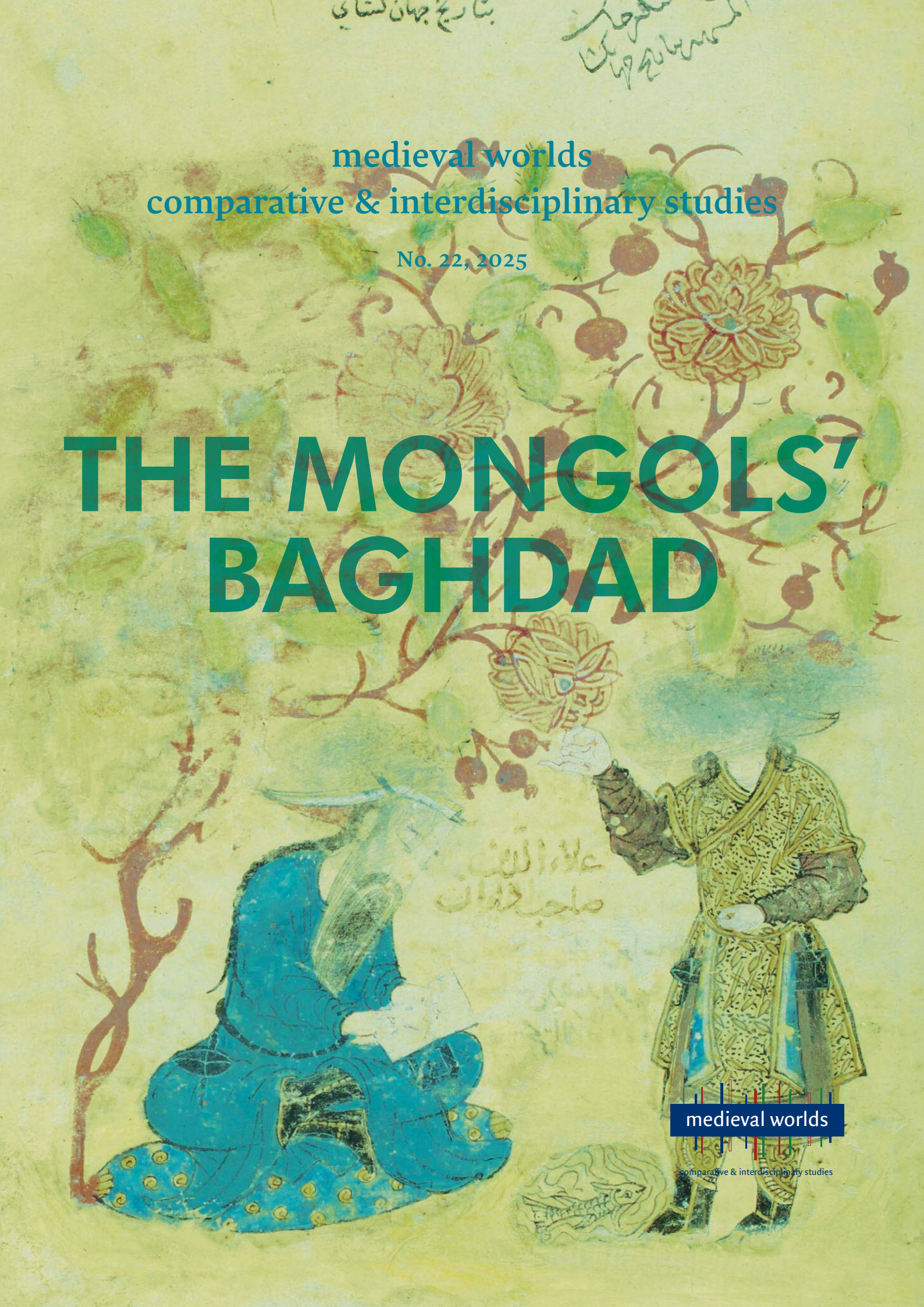
THE MONGOLS' BAGHDAD



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The Mongols' Baghdad

Knowledge Transmission through Manuscript Cultures before and after the Conquest

Guest Editors:
Bruno De Nicola and Nadine Löhr

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Editorial

Ingrid Hartl and Walter Pohl

Two men beneath a pomegranate tree. One, probably Abāqā Khan, the second ruler of the Mongol Ilkhanate, the other, writing, ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī, governor of Baghdad from 1259 CE onwards. The text he is writing is the famous Persian "History of the World Conqueror", the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*. This illustration serves as the frontispiece in a 1290-luxury copy of this history of conquest, produced shortly after the death of Juwaynī and celebrated today as the earliest, most complete extant copy of the text. Art historians have located its place of origin in Baghdad, which at that time had been under Mongol rule for 32 years, recovering from the first Mongol onslaught of 1258.

This is the key event the authors of our summer volume take their departure from. In detailed case studies they analyse the impact the new regime had on the manuscript culture of Baghdad. For this they focus on a variety of topics, such as individual manuscripts, their composition and circulation, on the development of specific texts and their canonisation, on audition certificates, marginal annotations but also on architecture and practices related to manuscript production. What emerges is a map of Baghdad's cultural and intellectual life in the 13th and 14th centuries, in which its religious, legal, scientific and literary text production becomes visible and some of the people that promoted them are located as actors who contributed to its cultural resilience and continuity.

Our cover picture might then give an impression of how knowledge production continued in Baghdad after the Ilkhanate had taken over control. It combines established forms with Chinese pictorial elements, presenting a new ruling elite, and Persian, instead of Arabic text, in a prized manuscript and thus shows the new political realities with new cultural premises but still vibrant with productivity.

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The Mongols' Baghdad: Knowledge Transmission through Manuscript Cultures before and after the Conquest – Introduction

Bruno De Nicola and Nadine Löhr*

This short essay serves as an introduction to a collection of studies for *Medieval Worlds* 22, entitled *The Mongols' Baghdad: Knowledge Transmission through Manuscript Cultures before and after the Conquest*. The contributions to this volume challenge the long-standing narrative of Baghdad's cultural and intellectual decline following the Mongol conquest of 1258. In this introduction, we provide a brief contextual overview of Baghdad prior to the Mongol arrival, emphasizing its prominent role as the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate and as a major centre of political authority, intellectual activity, and commercial exchange, despite its significant political decline by the 13th century. Although Hülegü's conquest of the city in 1258 was remembered in Arabic historiography as a profound civilizational rupture, this introduction argues that Baghdad, under Ilkhanid rule (1258-1335), underwent a gradual reconfiguration and remarkable recovery of its political, intellectual, and institutional life. We examine some of the documented efforts to reconstruct the city during the Mongol period, the intellectual climate fostered by the Mongols' multi-religious and pluralistic outlook, and how this environment shifted following the conversion to Islam of Ghāzān in 1295. Ultimately, this essay seeks to present the various perspectives offered by our contributors and to establish the historical context that shaped the political, intellectual, and cultural milieu of Baghdad under Mongol rule.

Keywords: Baghdad, Ilkhanate, manuscript cultures, transmission of knowledge, Mongol Empire

As the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate from the late 8th century onward, Baghdad occupied a preeminent position in the pre-modern Islamic world as a centre of political power, Islamic orthodoxies, intellectual activity, and urban sophistication. Founded in 762 CE by the caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754-775), the city was conceived as a purpose-built imperial capital to be symbolically and functionally oriented around the Abbasid court and its bureaucratic, religious,

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This is the introduction to the volume *The Mongols' Baghdad. Knowledge Transmission through Manuscript Cultures before and after the Conquest*, guest editors: Bruno De Nicola and Nadine Löhr. To read all related articles, please access https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no22_2025.

and scholarly institutions. Strategically located on the banks of the Tigris River, Baghdad stood at the intersection of major trade and communication routes linking the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean, Iran with the Levant, and the broader Islamic world with Central Asia. This geographical positioning not only facilitated trade but also transformed the city into a cosmopolitan hub for the circulation of people, texts, and ideas. The first two centuries of Abbasid rule in Baghdad later became renowned in historiography for their literary production. Caliphs, prominent scholars, and wealthy merchants all supported the translation of ancient Greek texts into Arabic encompassing a wide array of disciplines including mathematics, astronomy, medicine and philosophy as well as botany and alchemy. Scholarly interest also sparked the study of Syriac texts inspired by Greek works and translations through Pahlavi intermediaries.[1] The prestige and symbolic authority ascribed to Baghdad continued to shape the city's identity long after the political fragmentation of the caliphate.

By the time Mongol forces entered the city in 1258, however, Baghdad had already experienced significant political decline. The waning influence of the Abbasids in the centuries leading up to the Mongol invasion had diminished the city's imperial centrality, even as it retained its symbolic weight within the Islamic world.[2] In Arabic historiography, the fall of Baghdad was remembered not merely as a military conquest, but as a moment of profound civilisational rupture – the violent end of an era marked by the destruction of libraries, institutions, and lives. Hülegü (r. 1260-1265), the grandson of Chinggis Khān and commander of the Mongol army in the region, led the campaign that resulted in the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate after over five centuries of rule.[3]

The conquest of Baghdad must be understood within the broader context of Mongol expansion across Eurasia. In the decades prior to the sack of the city, Mongol forces had already advanced across much of Central Asia, Iran, and the eastern Islamic world. At their zenith, the Mongol Empire formed the largest contiguous land empire in history, extending from Korea to the edges of central Europe. Through conquest and policy, the Mongols created expansive transcontinental networks of trade, diplomacy, and knowledge exchange, integrating regions as distant as China and the Mediterranean into shared economic and cultural systems.[4]

The Mongol expansion into the Iranian plateau began in earnest during the campaigns of 1218-1219, when Chinggis Khān launched a full-scale invasion of the Khwārazmshāh Empire in response to a diplomatic crisis that erupted following the execution of a Mongol trade delegation. This campaign opened a path into eastern Khurasan, initiating the Mongols' long-term military and diplomatic engagement with the Islamic world. Chinggis Khān's generals, Jebe and Subotei, pursued the retreating forces of Muḥammad II Khwārazmshāh (r. 1200-1220) westward, pushing through central Iran and continuing their operations

1 There is extensive literature on the early Abbasid Caliphate and its cultural legacy. For an overview, see, among many others, Ahsan, *Social Life*; Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*. On the translation of Greek scientific texts, see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*.

2 Biran, Baghdad under Mongol rule.

3 Boyle, Last ʿAbbasid caliph.

4 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*; Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad (1258-1335).

into the Caucasus and as far as the Russian steppes. A renewed Mongol offensive under Ögödei Khān, Chinggis Khān's son and successor, began in 1229 and brought the final defeat of Muḥammad II's son and successor Jalāl al-Dīn Mangburnī (d. 1231). This phase of the conquest saw the submission of several major urban and political centres, including Fars, Kerman, and Isfahan, alongside the incorporation of the Christian kingdoms of Georgia and Armenia into the Mongol imperial sphere.[5]

By the early 1240s, the Mongols had consolidated their rule across much of Iran and the South Caucasus, and their military activities extended westward into Anatolia, where they would eventually defeat the Seljuqs of Rūm at the Battle of Köse Dağ in 1243.[6] Despite this sweeping expansion, Baghdad initially escaped direct confrontation during earlier moments of Mongol advance – in 1221, 1238, and again in 1243. Its relative political marginalisation and the Mongols' strategic priorities elsewhere may have temporarily spared the city. However, this reprieve came to an end in the 1250s, when Hülegü, acting on orders from the Great Khān Möngke (r. 1250-1259), led a new campaign into western Iran with the explicit aim of subduing the remaining independent Muslim polities – including the Abbasid Caliphate.[7] This westward push culminated in the siege and sack of Baghdad in 1258, a pivotal moment that marked the formal end of the Abbasid dynasty and initiated a new phase of Mongol rule in the heart of the Islamic world.

As many of the contributions to this special issue demonstrate, despite the trauma of conquest and the extensive destruction wrought in 1258, Baghdad under Mongol-Ilkhanid rule (1258-1335) experienced not a complete cultural collapse but rather a gradual reconfiguration of its political, intellectual, and institutional life. Soon after the city's fall, Hülegü issued orders for its reconstruction and the reopening of its commercial districts, including the restoration of the city's bazaars. By 1260, teaching had resumed in several madrasas, supported by the reactivation and reaffirmation of *waqf* (endowment) structures.[8] The Mongol administration's willingness to uphold and restore these endowments – traditionally linked to religious and educational institutions – played a crucial role in the recovery of scholarly activity in the city. This pragmatic approach to governance, which combined Mongol oversight with the retention and promotion of experienced local and regional bureaucrats, helped ensure administrative continuity. Moreover, the Ilkhanid court fostered intellectual and artistic life by facilitating the mobility of scholars, craftsmen, and administrators across the empire.[9] Projects such as the Marāgha Observatory, led by renowned scholars like Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, exemplified this cross-regional scholarly engagement.

During the early phase of Ilkhanid rule, Iran was governed by non-Muslim Mongol rulers who, consistent with broader imperial practice across Mongol-ruled territories, pursued a policy of religious tolerance as long as the religious leaders and their communities accepted Mongol political supremacy. The Ilkhanate upheld a pluralistic approach to governance,

5 Boyle, Dynastic and political history.

6 Melville, Anatolia under the Mongols.

7 Jackson, *The Mongols*, 125-152.

8 Biran, Baghdad under Mongol rule, 291.

9 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*.

in which religious leaders – regardless of affiliation – were exempted from taxation and military service in exchange for their symbolic and, at times, administrative support to the ruling elite. This arrangement not only reinforced the Mongols' legitimacy among diverse populations but also allowed for the flourishing of multiple religious traditions within their domains. Christian communities, particularly those associated with the Church of the East, experienced a period of relative protection and institutional expansion. Simultaneously, the Mongol presence facilitated the introduction and limited spread of Buddhism into certain regions of Iran, reflecting the empire's East Asian connections and the cultural heterogeneity of its ruling elite.[10] These developments underscore the Ilkhanate's initial posture as an empire of accommodation, where pragmatic governance and religious pluralism coexisted with the consolidation of imperial authority.

Under the Ilkhans, Baghdad recovered its role as a hub for multicultural exchange, attracting experts from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds who enjoyed high status and remarkable mobility. Religious disputations between Jews, Christians, and Muslims – including intra-Christian and intra-Jewish debates – were recorded in and around the city.[11] The Mongol court's inclusive administrative ethos facilitated collaboration between Muslim and non-Muslim specialists, rooted in a cosmological worldview that prioritised political loyalty over doctrinal conformity. Grounded in the belief in Eternal Heaven (Tengri), Mongol immanentism allowed for religious pluralism, yet this tolerance had boundaries: challenges to imperial authority or ritual order were met with coercion.[12] Within this environment of guarded pluralism, various Islamic traditions – Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi – coexisted and competed for influence. Sufi communities, in particular, flourished. Baghdad's *khānqāh*s (Sufi lodges) housed itinerant mystics and students, with new institutions established during the Ilkhanid period. As highlighted by Michal Biran, Sufis like the Kubrawi shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 1317), exemplify this trend. After settling in the city, he taught at multiple venues and secured patronage to found a hospice near Baghdad's western gate.[13]

Over time, the Mongol rulers adopted Islam, culminating in Ilkhān Ghāzān's formal conversion in 1295, a pivotal moment that aligned the Mongol elite with the religious identity of their largely Muslim subjects.[14] However, it also marked a departure from earlier policies of religious pluralism. Non-Muslim communities faced growing restrictions, including the imposition of the poll tax (jizya tax) and the repurposing or destruction of temples and places of worship, though some Christian groups retained status due to the Ilkhanate's foreign relations.[15] By the time Abū Saʿīd died without an heir in 1335, triggering the end of centralised Ilkhanid authority and a phase of political fragmentation and factional conflict. However, recent scholarship has challenged the long-standing narrative of decline and fall of

10 Allsen, Ever closer encounters.

11 Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad (1258-1335), 198.

12 Brack, Chinggisid pluralism.

13 Biran, Baghdad under Mongol rule, 305-306.

14 Pfeiffer, Double rapprochement; De Nicola, Domestic sphere.

15 Jackson, Faith of the conquered; De Weese, Islamization in the Mongol Empire.

the Ilkhanid dynasty, highlighting the Ilkhanate's crucial role in fostering an interconnected Eurasian order.[16]

During the 14th century, the Mongol elite had become deeply embedded within Islamic society while retaining Chinggisid legitimacy. The Mongol domination of the region saw the emergence of expansive political and cultural relations that facilitated the mobility of artisans, scholars, and religious figures from East Asia to the Mediterranean and beyond. Baghdad, though no longer the imperial capital it once was, remained a key destination for scholars, travellers, and merchants, supported by Mongol-secured routes that facilitated the movement of people and texts. The city continued to be renowned for its high-quality artisanal production – particularly textiles, pearls, and manuscripts.

The Mongol century was, in many respects, a century of writing. Under Ilkhanid rule, Baghdad maintained its long-standing reputation as a centre for papermaking, calligraphy, illumination, and book trading. Prominent Abbasid court calligraphers such as Yaʿqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, Zakī al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥabīb, and their students continued to reside in the city after the Mongol conquest. There, they sustained the traditions of manuscript production while training a new generation of scribes and visual artists.[17] While innovations such as woodblock printing were beginning to appear in the eastern regions of the Mongol Empire, manuscript production in the Ilkhanate reached a scale that is still difficult to fully grasp. The enormous textual output generated during this period – much of it preserved in libraries and collections across Iran, Europe, and beyond – remains underexplored.[18] It is to this manuscript corpus that future scholarship must increasingly turn in order to reconstruct the intellectual and cultural dynamism of the Ilkhanid era.[19]

Crucially, manuscript culture during this period was not confined to the courtly elite. Texts were commissioned and produced for a variety of audiences and settings, including elite households, educational institutions such as madrasas, Sufi lodges (*khānqāh*s), and an expanding class of private collectors. Patronage networks were extensive and multifaceted. Alongside Mongol khāns and princes, Persian bureaucratic families such as the Juwaynīs, regional rulers, and affluent merchants all played significant roles in supporting literary and scientific production. This cultural efflorescence was not the result of imperial edict alone but stemmed from broader structural shifts in society. The growth of private wealth among the upper classes enabled the emergence of a decentralised and diverse system of patronage that significantly contributed to cultural productivity.[20] Literary and scholarly works were being copied simultaneously across a wide geography – from Samarkand to Konya, and from

16 Melville, End of the Ilkhanate.

17 Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad (1258-1335), 193.

18 Efforts in trying to map the literary production in Mongol Iran and Central Asia are being done by the team of the NoMansLand Project (FWF) based at the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

19 A proposal in this direction can be seen in De Nicola, Manuscripts and digital technologies.

20 On the network of patronage, for example, around scholars at the observatory in Marāgha, see Yano, Stars in the sky.

Cairo to Delhi – attesting to the emergence of a reconnected and redefined Islamic world under Mongol rule.

Literary and scholarly circles often formed around prominent polymaths who acted as intermediaries between the Mongol elite and local traditions of learning. Figures such as ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī were not only trusted advisers to the Ilkhanid court but also played pivotal roles in the patronage, production, and transmission of texts.[21] These individuals fostered networks of protégés and collaborators, helping to establish manuscript traditions that would influence subsequent generations. In the decades following the conquest, numerous scholars – many of them Persian-speaking and closely associated with families like the Juwaynīs – either settled in or travelled through Baghdad.[22] During this period, Persian began to assert a growing presence, side by side with Arabic, as a literary and intellectual language within the Ilkhanate. Nevertheless, preliminary research on surviving manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries reveals that Arabic remained overwhelmingly dominant in terms of textual output. While Persian gained importance, especially in genres such as literature, ethics, and Sufism, Arabic continued to be the primary language for scholarly, scientific, and religious works. The choice of language was often tied to the nature of the text itself: Arabic predominated in theology, jurisprudence, and scientific treatises, whereas Persian was increasingly used for historiography, poetry, and didactic prose. This division suggests, pending further research on the topic, a functional bilingualism shaped by both inherited traditions and the preferences of a Persianised administrative and cultural elite.

Relationships between scholars and Ilkhanid patrons were often precarious, shaped by the volatile nature of court politics and shifting alliances. Intellectuals depended on elite sponsorship, but their positions were frequently imperilled by the rise and fall of powerful figures. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, for example, allegedly managed these shifts with care; when the Mongols arrived, he is said to have aligned himself with the political interests of successive Ilkhanid rulers, becoming a trusted adviser to Hülegü and securing crucial support for his scientific projects. Relationships with the ruling elite, however, shifted quickly. In the 1280s the eventual collapse of influential families such as the Juwaynīs disrupted established scholarly support systems.[23] This fragmentation led to the migration of scholars and protégés, many of whom sought new opportunities in emerging centres of power, including Tabriz, Azerbaijan, and the Mamluk Sultanate. Yet despite the political upheavals and the initial disruptions brought on by the Mongol conquest, Baghdad witnessed a remarkable cultural and intellectual recovery. Within a few decades of the 1258 sack, the city resumed its cultural activity as reflected in the production of manuscripts surviving from the period. The resilience of institutions such as madrasas and Sufi lodges, combined with the patronage of a newly established Persianised elite, allowed Baghdad to regain a prominent role within the Ilkhanate's broader intellectual and cultural networks.

21 Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge.

22 See De Nicola, Persian books (in this volume).

23 Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad (1258-1335), 190.

This volume explores Baghdad's cultural and intellectual recovery under Mongol-Ilkhanid rule, challenging the long-standing assumptions of decline following the 1258 conquest. We argue that, on the contrary, Baghdad remained a centre for manuscript production and scholarly activity throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. The contributions to this volume examine both the continuities and transformations in Baghdad's manuscript culture across the Mongol period. From astronomy and medicine to theology, philosophy, and literature, the essays address a wide array of disciplines, employing approaches that range from codicology and intellectual biography to architectural analysis and legal history to examine manuscript culture and knowledge transmission. The papers collectively offer a multidisciplinary portrait of how the city – often seen as emblematic of cultural collapse following the Mongol conquest of 1258 – remained a vibrant centre of literary, religious, and scientific production well into the 14th century. Moving beyond traditional narratives of rupture, the contributions reframe Baghdad as a site of adaptation, negotiation, and scholarly resilience within the evolving framework of the Ilkhanid Empire.

This issue of *Medieval Worlds* emerges from the international conference "The Mongols' Baghdad: Knowledge Transmission through Manuscript Cultures before and after the Conquest", held in Vienna on 1-3 December 2022.[24] Jointly organised by the FWF-START project "Nomads' Manuscripts Landscape" (Institute of Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences) and the "Bibliotheca Arabica" project of the Saxon Academy of Sciences and Humanities, the conference brought together scholars in Islamic intellectual history, codicology, and manuscript studies to examine how Baghdad's manuscript traditions were reshaped under Mongol rule. Through detailed case studies of individual manuscripts, libraries, authors, copyists, and patrons, participants traced the networks linking Baghdad to Shiraz, Tabriz, and Marāgha. The essays that follow build on these insights to re-evaluate the place of Baghdad in the intellectual cartography of the Mongol world.

Bruno De Nicola's opening article sets the stage by examining the production of Persian manuscripts in Mongol Baghdad. His study identifies a significant rise in Persian literary activity under Mongol patronage, especially among the Persianised elites integrated into Baghdad's administrative and cultural life. This Persianisation of Baghdad's manuscript output offers a new understanding of how Ilkhanid cultural policies reshaped the city's linguistic and literary landscape. Stefan Kamola's contribution builds upon this theme of institutional transformation by investigating the reproduction and circulation of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. Kamola argues for the existence of a Baghdad-based scriptorium that may have played a critical role in editing and disseminating the *Collected Histories*, thus underscoring Baghdad's role not only as a copying centre but also as a site of editorial innovation within the Ilkhanid knowledge economy.

The next set of articles focuses on religious and legal scholarship in Mongol Baghdad. Stefanie Brinkmann's study of *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* reveals the persistence of Sunni hadith traditions through institutional networks like the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa and the Caliphal Mosque. Her analysis of audition certificates points to continued scholarly mobility and oral

24 Löhr, Conference report: The Mongols' Baghdad.

transmission between Baghdad and Mamluk Damascus. Katharina Ivanyi further highlights Baghdad's continued significance as a centre of legal scholarship through her examination of *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*, a Ḥanafī legal text that persisted in Baghdad's scholarly circles well beyond the conquest. These studies complicate the notion of rupture by revealing strong lines of continuity in Sunni legal and hadith traditions. Taro Mimura adds a diachronic dimension by highlighting how Thābit ibn Qurra's descendants preserved and authenticated his scientific legacy by controlling the transmission of his works, particularly through autograph exemplars and manuscript copying.

Ghasem Gharib's contribution brings a different perspective in terms of the impact of the Mongol conquest of Baghdad. He argues that the marginalia in a manuscript from the Marʿashī Library (No. 16388) provide firsthand evidence of, at least, partial destruction of Baghdad's libraries, particularly that of the last Abbasid caliph. However, he also shows that despite the damage, the study of manuscripts continued under Mongol domination. Hadi Joráti's contribution follows examining the composition and early canonisation of the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā* of ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī. Through an analysis of textual and paratextual evidence, he identifies inconsistencies and indicators of multiple authorship, arguing that the work most likely reached its final form in Baghdad.

Architecture and material culture are not absent from this intellectual map. Andrew Petersen's analysis of Mongol-era architecture reconsiders the impact of the 1258 sack of Baghdad, reassessing traditional narratives of complete destruction through an analysis of evidence that reflects both cultural disruption and cultural continuity in the city. Meanwhile, Shiva Mihan's contribution focuses on the 13th-century Persian treatise *Kāghaẕ-nāma*, introducing a rare textual witness to Islamic papermaking practices in Mongol Baghdad. As the earliest known Persian work on the subject, this contribution examines the manuscript's content by highlighting mystical elements reflected in the text and evidencing a continuity of traditional Islamic papermaking practices in the city.[25] The volume closes with Nadine Löhr's analysis of 13th- and 14th-century copies of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*. By examining marginal notes, she shows how annotation, revision, and cross-referencing to related textual traditions shaped the study of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and how attentive copyists in the Ilkhanid period preserved these layers of commentary.

The editors' intention is that, together, these articles illustrate how Baghdad remained deeply embedded in the transregional circuits of textual transmission, intellectual production, and manuscript circulation within the Mongol Empire. Through this volume, we would like to invite readers to rethink Baghdad not merely as a conquered city, but as a reconfigured intellectual centre within the Eurasian world forged by Mongol rule. While further research is still needed to unveil different aspects of Baghdad intellectual history under Mongol rule, we hope these contributions serve as a catalyst to encourage more studies on surviving manuscripts from the period.

25 This article will appear in the forthcoming volume 23 of *Medieval Worlds*, to be published in December 2025.

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Persian Books from Mongol Baghdad: A Survey of Manuscript Evidence

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This article explores the presence of Persian literary activity in Baghdad under Mongol rule. It surveys surviving Persian manuscripts produced in Baghdad before, during, and after the Mongol conquest, highlighting their diversity in literary genre, authorship and scribal habits present in these codices. While some evidence points to isolated instances of Persian manuscript production before the conquest, the study shows that Persian literary activity significantly increased under Ilkhanid rule. The article emphasises the role of Mongol patronage and the integration of Persian-speaking elites into Baghdad's administration as key factors in this shift. It also considers the role of institutions such as madrasas in sustaining manuscript production in Persian alongside Arabic. Despite the profound disruption caused by the conquest, the manuscript record suggests that Baghdad's intellectual life recovered and was reshaped within the broader cultural and political networks of the Mongol Empire. Ultimately, the article argues that while Arabic remained the dominant scholarly language, Persian emerged as a flourishing medium of literary and intellectual expression, reflecting the city's incorporation into an increasingly Persianate cultural sphere under Mongol rule.

Keywords: manuscript production, scribal practices, Persian literature, patronage, Mongol rule, Baghdad, 13th-century Iran

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رگید طرش نآ است که بعد از ین متولی این نسخه ها را که تمام شود هر سال به شهری فرستد از شهر های اسلام، عربی به بلاد عرب، و عجمی به بلاد عجم، وابتدا به معظم ترین شهر ها کند. پس به معظم ترین به وفق مفتضای رای او تا وقف باشد بر اهل آن شهر به موجب مذکور، و در آن شهر در مدرسه ای که آن رامدرسی باشد به فنون علوم مشهور و مشارالیه وقضات و ائمه و علما اختیار کنند بنهند تا متعلمانی که رغبت نمایند پیش آن مدرس آن را می خوانند.[1]

> Another provision is that after [the production of] this [book], the custodian of these copies, when they are finished, will send them every year to the cities of Islam. Arabic [books] to Arab regions, and *ʿajamī* (or: Persian) [books] to *ʿajamī* countries, and first to the most important cities.[2] Therefore, it is most important, according to his (the custodian's) opinion, to endow the people of that city according to the aforementioned [provisions] and in that city, to a school (*madrasa*) where he will teach the techniques of famous sciences, and the judges, imams, and scholars, so that the educated people who desires [to learn] this book, read it to the teacher.[3]

Introduction

The above quotation is part of the famous religious endowment (*waqfiyya*) containing the financial provisions and specific commands left by the powerful Ilkhanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī (d. 1318 CE) for the management of his foundation in Tabriz. In this particular part of the endowment, the vizier provides specific instructions as to how and where copies of his books should be distributed across the Ilkhanate and beyond, specifying that those books written in Arabic should be sent to 'Arab regions' while those in Persian to 'Persian regions'. Unfortunately, nowhere in the document are we told which part of the Ilkhanate was considered 'Arab' or 'Persian' or whether these delimitations were based on linguistic, historical, or even ethnic characteristics of the region. The city of Baghdad is one of the few urban centres specifically mentioned in the endowment as a place of destination of the vizier's books but no specific reference to whether Arab or Persian books where to be sent there.

The city of Baghdad was a major centre of knowledge production in the Islamic world from its foundation in the year 750 CE. The production of manuscripts functioning as support for the dissemination of this knowledge is documented at least since the 10th century, with manuscripts copied in Baghdad during the 11th century surviving to our days.[4] However, the fall of Baghdad to the Mongol armies commanded by Hülegü in 1258 CE is often seen as a turning point in the history of the city. Although Baghdad was arguably already immersed in a long process of cultural decline by the time of the arrival of the Mongol armies,

1 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqfnāmah-i Rabʿ Rashīdī*, ed. Mīnuvī *et al.*, 239.

2 A footnote in the edition of this document mentions that some copies of the text have the actual word *Fārsī* rather than *ʿajamī*.

3 Translation by the author of this article.

4 See, for example, a manuscript dated 9 Dhū al-Qaʿda 487 AH [20 November 1094 CE] and containing a medical work by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (d. 925 AH). The book is currently at the National Library of Medicine (Bethesda, Maryland, USA), MS NLM A17.

the conquest impacted greatly in terms of demographics, destruction of infrastructure, and a loss of the city's cultural and religious centrality.[5] The Mongol conquest of Baghdad and the execution of Caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (d. 1259), diminished the city's role as the political and spiritual centre of the Islamic world, but simultaneously, it became part of the expansive, interconnected Mongol Empire stretching from China to the Mediterranean. Recognising the city's symbolic significance, the Mongols protected local merchants and their properties, integrating Baghdad into their administrative framework so that it became one of the principal urban centres in Ilkhanid Iraq.[6]

Similarly to their practices in other regions of the Ilkhanate, the Mongols appointed new administrative staff to the newly conquered territories. The new Mongol rulers soon favoured officials proficient in both Arabic and Persian for administrative roles such as governor (*wazīr*), deputy governor (*nāʾib*), military commander (*shiḥna*), and judges (*quḍāt*) to administer justice in the region.[7] Among them, the influential ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī (d. 1282) was appointed governor of Baghdad in 1259 and, together with his brother, the *ṣāḥib dīvān* Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, they became part of a new Persianate elite that oversaw the administration, revenues, and cultural activities of the Ilkhanate from Khurasan to Anatolia.[8]

The consolidation of Persian as the primary language for administration and diplomacy at the Ilkhanid court is well documented.[9] Following the establishment of Mongol power in the region of modern-day Azerbaijan and the integration of a Persian-speaking elite into Ilkhanid governance, Persian was firmly adopted as the preferred language for administering the western provinces of the empire – a practice that continued a precedent set earlier by the Great Seljuqs.[10] After the Mongol invasions, the use of Persian as a literary language became increasingly widespread, especially in Khurasan, Azerbaijan, and Anatolia, where it dominated genres such as history, poetry, and Sufi literature.[11] Arabic, however, continued to be widely used and retained its central role in scholarly and religious writing. When Hülegü added Iraq to the Mongol domains in 1258, Baghdad was incorporated into the Ilkhanid political and cultural framework. Yet the city differed from other regions under Mongol rule due to its long-standing Arabic literary tradition and distinct demographic makeup. While Persianate influence in Baghdad predates the Mongol conquest, the role of Persian as a literary language in the city remains less studied compared to its prominence in other Ilkhanid territories.

This article offers a preliminary survey of surviving Persian manuscripts copied in Baghdad during the Mongol period until the fall of the Ilkhanate in 1335. While acknowledging the limitations posed by manuscript survival and attribution, the study aims to present

5 Boyle, Dynastic and political history, 346-349; Biran, Baghdād under Mongol rule, 285-315.

6 Kennedy and Zaryāb, Baghdad.

7 This is based on the description made by Ibn Fuwaṭī quoted in Spuler, *Mongolen in Iran*, 339, n. 13.

8 The presence of a Persianate faction in the Caliphal court before the arrival of the Mongol to Baghdad has been discussed in the past. See Kennedy and Zaryāb, Baghdad; De Nicola, Ibn al-Alqamī; Gilli-Elewy, Mongol court in Baghdad, 168-181.

9 Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, 297-327; Aubin, *Émirs mongols et vizirs persans*.

10 Fragner, Ilkhanid rule, 68-82.

11 Morgan, Persian as a lingua franca.

a representative sample of Persian cultural activity in the city. It explores not only what was written, but also who was involved in the production, circulation, and, when it is possible to determine it, the consumption of these texts. By tracing the history of these manuscripts, this article considers whether Mongol rule of Baghdad in the 13th and 14th centuries, rather than leading to cultural decline as often believed, fostered the use of Persian as a literary language in the city, showcasing the integration of Baghdad into the wider Eurasian intellectual network provided by the Mongol Empire. Ultimately, the goal is to assess whether the rise in Persian manuscript production reflects broader processes of cultural transformation and Persianisation of Baghdad under Mongol governance.

Persian Manuscripts in Ilkhanid Baghdad Before the Mongols

While numerous accounts detail the Mongol invasion of Iraq and the sack of Baghdad in 1258, assessing the specific impact on the survival of pre-conquest manuscripts remains challenging. Dramatic stories explaining, for example, how the Mongols threw so many books into the rivers of Iraq during the sack of the city that book-bridges were created from shore to shore, or that this caused the Tigris River to turn black from the amount of ink, are common among some Muslim chronicles of later periods.[12] However, these references seem to be more allegorical than factual, reflecting the shock of the invasion among contemporary and later Muslim scholars rather that the real destiny of books in the city. These accounts are more illustrative of the impact that the capitulation of the Abbasid capital to a pagan 'barbarian' had in the mind of educated Muslims of the period, rather than providing any accurate description of the damage the Mongols inflicted on the literary heritage of the city. The idea of *barbarian* Mongols with a particular disdain towards books and knowledge became so ingrained in the pre-modern Islamic world that this association was recorded not only in narrative sources of the time, but also in marginal annotations of some Arabic manuscripts, possibly to increase the value of the book as a surviving object of the 'Mongol literary destruction' of Baghdad.[13]

Despite the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258 CE, a number of manuscripts copied in the city prior to the conquest have survived. Recent research has identified at least twenty-four manuscripts, now housed in collections across Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Europe, that were copied in Baghdad between 1200 and 1258. Additionally, several manuscripts produced in the late 12th century have also endured, offering valuable insights into the city's literary culture before and after the Mongol invasion.[14] More recent research has shown that after the initial sack of Baghdad, cultural activity in the city recovered, if not to its former glory, to a point at which books were being copied, read, and distributed in Baghdad only decades after the surrender of the city.[15] Further, an undetermined number of manuscripts are believed to have survived from the collection of the Abbasid caliphs, as some accounts suggest that these books were moved out of the city and later formed the library of the Maragha Observatory

12 For a selection of these accounts, see Biran, Libraries, books and transmission of knowledge, 464-502.

13 On this, see Gharib, From the banks of the Tigris.

14 The identification of these manuscripts has been done as part of the research conducted by members of the project NoMansLand (FWF Y-1232 G30).

15 De Nicola, Manuscript witness, 70-108; Biran, Libraries, books and transmission of knowledge, 464-502.

founded by Hülegü and the polymath Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274) after the conquest of Baghdad.[16]

In this period prior to the Mongol conquest of the Jazira, royal patronage rested mainly on the shoulders of the Abbasid Caliphate or the local Iraqi dynasties such as the Zangīs (r. 1127-1234), both mostly Arabic-literary dynasties. Instead, the production of Persian manuscripts in the first half of the 13th century was concentrated in regions like Anatolia, Khurasan, and Central Asia, dominated by local dynasties such as the Seljuqs of Rūm (r. 1077-1308) or the Khwārazmshāh (r. 1190-1221), more inclined towards using Persian as literary language.[17] It is not surprising then, that the overwhelming majority of the surviving pre-Mongol Baghdadi manuscripts are written in Arabic language.[18]

Among the twenty-four identified manuscripts copied in Baghdad before the Mongol conquest, only one contains Persian works. This is the manuscript London, British Library, Or. 4118, dated 5 Dhū al-Ḥijja 601 AH (24 July 1205 CE), which has been clearly linked to the city (see figure 1), making it a rare example of Persian manuscript production in pre-Mongol Baghdad.[19] Its survival offers valuable insight into the presence of Persian literary culture in the city prior to the Mongol invasion. The manuscript contains a very early translation of a Sufi seminal work written originally in Arabic by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 465 AH / 1072 CE), often referred to as *Risāla al-Qushayrī fī ʿilm al-Tasawwuf.*[20] This work is considered one of the founding books of Sufism, offering the reader an introduction to different aspects of the 'Sufi path' in Islam.[21] The book is organised in different sections, including an introduction by the author, biographies of Sufi mystics, explanations on common expressions used by Sufis, and a dissertation about aspects of Sufi *ṭabaqāt*.[22]

The original Arabic work was composed during the 11th century in support of the idea that there is compatibility between Sufism and mainstream Islam, especially with regard to the respect for the *sharīʿa* and religious sciences like the study of hadiths. This work appeared at a moment when Sufism had not yet become popular in the Islamic world but had begun to

16 This idea is based on the words of, for example, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728 AH/1327 CE), who claims that Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī allowed the Mongols to destroy religious books (*tafsīr*s, hadiths, *fiqh*, etc.) but saved those dealing with medicine, astronomy, or philosophy. See Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 193.

17 See for example the composition of the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa-āyat al-surūr* of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Rāvandī (fl. 1202), who dedicated the work to Sultan Kaykhusraw I of Rūm (d. 1211); see Hillenbrand, Rāvandī, the Seljuq court. An early copy of the work has survived, possibly copied in the 13th century, at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 1314; for a description, see Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, 267.

18 For a codicological description of these Arabic manuscripts, see Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines*, 661.

19 A description of this manuscript can be found in Rieu, *Supplement*, 8-9.

20 The work has been translated into different European languages. See, for example, al-Qushayrī, *Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism*, trans. Knysh.

21 It was a rather popular text in its original Arabic version, with copies found in different collections across the Islamicate world. See, for example, Kafadar and Karamustafa, Books on Sufism, 441.

22 The term *ṭabaqāt* is often used to refer to the literary genre within Islamic biographical literature which is usually arranged according to the century in which notable individuals (in this case Sufi shaykhs) lived. In the context of this work, the term is used to address how this text classifies Sufi mystics into hierarchical or generational layers, often reflecting their spiritual rank, historical period, or lineage within Sufi tradition.

spread among Muslims in different parts of Eurasia.[23] With the spread of Sufism in the 12th century, and especially during the 13th century, the book became a primary textbook among Sufi communities and a core reading for Muslims initiated in the mystical path.[24]

Although this copy of the translation of al-Qushayrī's book is mentioned in E.G. Browne's classic study on the *Literary History of Persia*, manuscript Or. 4118 has been mostly ignored by scholars in the field, with the exception of a brief note on the antiquity of its binding made in the 1960s.[25] The codex contains not only a unique early witness of the Persian translation of al-Qushayrī's work but also presents some codicological features worth highlighting in this survey. The colophon of Or. 4118 (figure 1) informs us that the original Arabic text was composed in the year 438 AH [1046 CE].[26] We know that the work circulated widely in the Islamic world during the 12th century because different copies of the original Arabic text have survived to this day. However, we do not know when the Persian translation was made nor how many other copies of the Persian translation were in circulation in this period, since no other copy of the Persian version seems to have survived. Even if copies of the text might have been available in different parts of West Asia at the time that Or. 4118 was copied, the singularity of this copy resides in the fact that it was reproduced not in its Arabic original but in its Persian version within the context of early 13th-century Baghdad, where Arabic was, according to the general understanding of the period, the dominant literary language. Hence, while we have evidence of Persian being used in manuscripts in this early period in regions relatively close to Baghdad, Or. 4118 is the only manuscript I was able to find with a clear specification that it was copied in the city before the coming of the Mongols.[27]

This raises the question of why this copy was produced in Persian in Baghdad when the general tendency in the city before the Mongols was to copy books in Arabic. There is always the possibility that this copy was the result of an individual initiative, with a Persian-speaking person having requested the copy to be made in Persian for his own use. This manuscript, however, does not reveal any specific patron who might have asked for this copy to be produced in Persian nor does it include any dedicatee that would reveal a particular preference for Persian rather than the substantial number of Arabic copies of the text that were in circulation in this period. The colophon identifies the copyist as Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī, whose *nisba* – a component of Islamic names indicating geographic origin, profession, or affiliation – suggests he (or his family) came originally from the region of Qazvin in present-

23 Mojaddedi, Legitimizing Sufism.

24 Al-Qushayrī, *Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism*, trans. Knysh, xxv.

25 Browne, *Literary History*, vol. 2, 288; Gardner, Three early Islamic bookbindings, 28-30.

26 Or. 4118, fol. 279a. For other early copies of the work in Arabic, see MS University of Tehran, Central Library, no. 8204 M (dated 'end of Muḥarram 768' [October 1366]); another undated but possibly 13th-century copy can be found in MS Qom, Marʿashī 11824.

27 For example, a copy of the Qur'an that includes a Persian translation of the *Tafsīr* of Ṭabarī was copied between 607 and 622 AH (1210 and 1225 CE), possibly in Tabriz, for Abū al-Qāsim Hārūn b. ʿAlī b. Ẓafar Dindān, a vizier of the Atabeq of the Seljuq-Ildiguzid dynasty, Uzbek b. Muḥammad b. Ildeguz (d. 1225). See Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 1610; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines*, 109-110. Another example is the Qur'an translation dating from 1209-1211, possibly copied in Khurasan, that is now at the library of the Golestan Palace in Tehran (Golestan number 55-60).

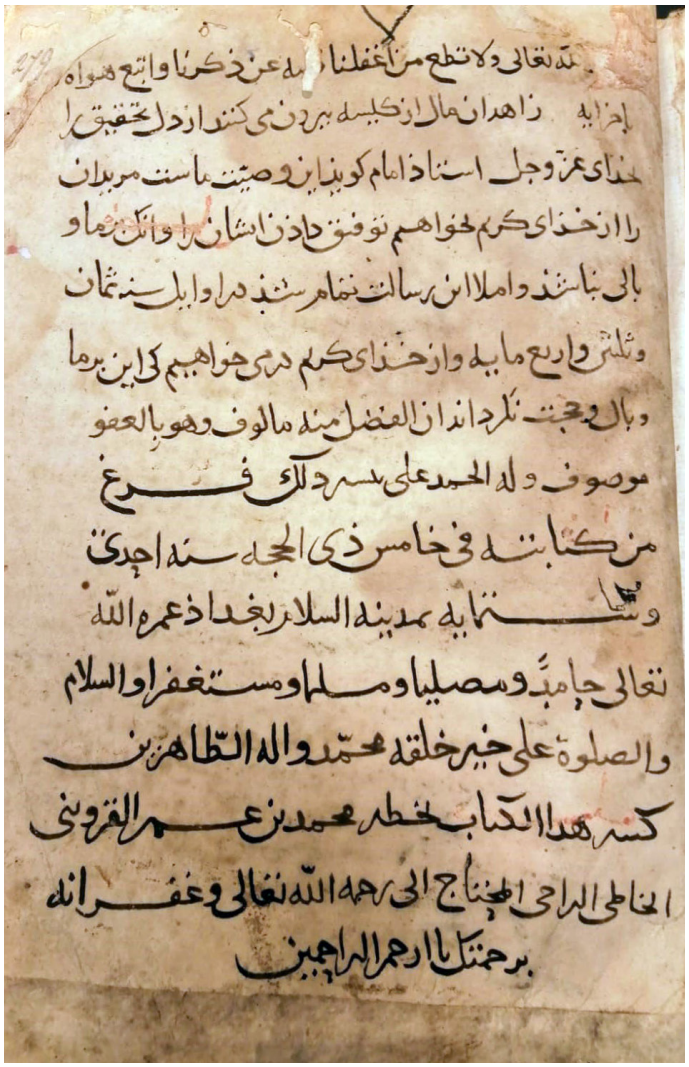

Figure 1: Colophon, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī al-Nīshāpūrī, Risāla al-Qushayrī fī ʿilm al-Tasawwuf. London, British Library, Or. 4118, fol. 279a.

day Iran.[28] His ability to copy this text in Persian reinforces the possibility that the copyist was a Persian-speaking person who settled in Baghdad after coming from the central areas of the Iranian plateau. Unfortunately, we lack sufficient information from the manuscript to say with certainty whether this codex was produced on the copyist's own initiative or at the request of a patron – either from Baghdad or another part of the Middle East – who specifically wanted the book in Persian when Arabic versions of the text were available. Old ownership marks written in the title page of the manuscript mention that the book was acquired in the year 640 AH [1242-1243 CE] by a certain Abū Bakr b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Rashīd al-Isbāhanī (?),

28 Or. 4118, fol. 279a.

a person who thus far remains unidentified. Hence, the first recorded acquisition of the book occurred some sixteen years prior to the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, evidencing a perhaps limited, but still relevant, presence of literary activity in the Persian language happening in the city of Baghdad before the Mongol conquest of the city.

Unfortunately, we have no references to the fate of this manuscript during or immediately after the Mongol conquest. The remaining ownership marks in the codex were made long after the Mongol domination of the city was over, reflecting that the manuscript changed hands on different occasions. Two isolated dates mentioning the years 866 AH and 98[?] AH were added to the title page, hinting that the book changed owners during the 15th and 16th centuries, before it possibly made it to the Ottoman Empire before being acquired by the British ambassador Thomas Fiott Hughes.[29]

Interestingly, al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* is not the only text included in Or. 4118. Three pages of another work were added at the beginning of the book and another two additional pages of the same text were copied after the colophon. All five pages are written in a different hand and the calligraphy is more cursive and less elegant than the copy of al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*. However, the added text is almost as old as that penned by the main scribe and the extra pages could have been added to the codex during the 13th century. Although the beginning of the text is damaged, it is possible to identify the work contained in these extra pages as the beginning of the famous *munājāt* of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 1088), also known as *Pīr-i Herat*.[30]

Similar to the main text in this codex, Anṣārī's work is considered a seminal Sufi text composed in the 11th century, and is even described as one of the jewels of Persian literature.[31] This work is a collection of invocations to God in Persian rhymed prose and became a very popular text among Sufis of the 13th century. The *munājāt* was originally composed in the Persian dialect of Herat and is the result of the selection made by students of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī from the teachings given by the *pīr* (master) at his *khānaqāh* (Sufi hospice) in Herat during the 11th century.[32] Clearly, both texts were not only composed contemporaneously during the formative period of Sufism but are also thematically complementary in terms of their content. They both represent teachings from early Sufi masters, they are both rendered in Persian, and they both belonged to the basic corpus used by Sufis in the pre-modern Middle East. The arrangement of these two works in a single codex suggests precisely that they were bound together for their thematic coherence.

Thus, while the scarcity of Persian manuscripts from this period limits our knowledge of Sufi communities in pre-Mongol Baghdad, the works in this unique manuscript provide rare evidence of Persian Sufi literature being copied in a city where Arabic was the dominant literary language. The codex Or. 4118 is a piece of very unique evidence that mystical

29 Another owner is also mentioned on the title page, albeit with an illegible part in the middle of the name, possibly from this later period: Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Uthmān (…) b. ʿUmar b. Shaddād al-Khalāṭī. See Or. 4118, fol. 3a.

30 De Beaurecueil, ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī.

31 For translations of the *munājāt*, see al-Harawī, *Munājāt*, trans. Morris and Sarfeh; *idem*, *Cris du Coeur*, trans. de Beaurecueil.

32 Ravan Farhadi, *Abdullah Ansari of Herat*, chapter 8.

representations of Islam in Persian were present in pre-Mongol Baghdad and that the expansion of Sufism and Persian literary writing preceded the Mongol conquest even in urban centres where Arabic was the overwhelming preferred literary language. It is possible that this unique copy is the exception that confirms the rule that all manuscripts copied in Baghdad produced before the Mongol conquest were written in Arabic; nevertheless, it is evidence of an early literary presence of Persian in the city.

Persian Manuscripts Between the Fall of Baghdad and the Reign of Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295-1304 CE)

The second half of the 13th century is the period of Mongol permanent establishment in the Middle East and the time when the Mongol rulers of the Ilkhanate remained largely pagan rulers of Islamic lands.[33] For the city of Baghdad, this is a period of political instability, economic decline, and decrease of cultural centrality marked by the execution of the Abbasid Caliph, the transfer of the central ruling Mongol court to the region of Azerbaijan, and the incorporation of the city as just another administrative division of the Ilkhanate.[34] However, despite these circumstances, the city remained an important centre of cultural, scientific, and religious activities after the Mongol conquest. Under the short governorship of Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 1259) and the longer term of ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī, Baghdad maintained its role as a cultural centre of the Islamic world and, arguably, increased its relevance by becoming integrated into the larger Eurasian cultural network of the Mongol Empire.[35]

Although the cultural diversity of medieval Baghdad allowed different communities of Christian, Muslims, and Jews to cohabit in the city and a variety of languages certainly were spoken in the streets of Baghdad, the institutional, educational, and cultural activities of the city were mostly conducted in Arabic, even after the Mongols took control of the city. Preliminary analysis on the production of manuscripts in both Persian and Arabic in the city suggests an initial decline in the copying of manuscript during the early years of the Mongol occupation, with an initial decade of no surviving manuscripts copied in Baghdad between 652 AH and 662 AH [1254-1263 CE].[36] Although these statistics should be taken with caution, it seems that either no manuscripts were copied in Baghdad in this ten-year period or, at least, none have survived to this day that can be clearly connected to the city. However, the same statistics show that only a few years after the Mongol conquest and occupation of Baghdad, manuscript production, circulation, and consumption recovered during the decades of the 670s and 680s of the Hegira.[37]

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33 With the exception of the short rule of Aḥmad Tegüder (r. 1282-1284), who had converted to Islam prior to his ascension to the throne, all other Ilkhans of Iran up to 1295 were non-Muslims.

34 Boyle, Dynastic and political history, 346-349.

35 De Nicola, Ibn al-Alqamī; Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 194-196.

36 The last surviving manuscript I found from the years before the conquest is a copy of the work on *kalām* entitled *al-Risāla al-Mūḍiḥa* by Muẓaffar b. Jaʿfar al-Ḥusaynī (fl. 7th c. AH) made in 652 [1254 CE] in the Madrasa Niẓāmiyya of Baghdad and currently held at the library of the Madrasa al-Shubariyya in Najaf, Iraq, MS no. 147.

37 See also De Nicola, Manuscript witness, 70-108. The Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, for example, apparently reopened within a year and a half of the Mongol conquest of the city; see Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 472.

Compared to later periods in the Mongol domination of the city, these early decades of Mongol rule show a lack of direct Ilkhanid royal patronage of books.[38] Therefore, this recovery in manuscript production after a decade or so of the conquest, as I will try to show below, was largely driven by two interconnected factors: first, the support of new local elites brought to Baghdad by the Mongols; and second, the re-establishment of long-standing institutions like the different Baghdadi madrasas, such as the Niẓāmiyya madrasa and the Madrasa Mustanṣiriyya, among others.[39] The interaction between these two factors is encapsulated in a later description left by an anonymous author of the 14th century (previously believed to be Ibn Fuwaṭī), who mentions that during the governorship of ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī, there was a government investment in the refurbishment of madrasas, mosques, and other institutions, an act that was emulated, not only by other wealthy Mongol officials and governors of the city that succeeded him, but also by his own wife, Shams al-Ẓuḥā Shāh Lubnī, who founded the Madrasa ʿIṣmaṭiyya just outside of Baghdad in the year 678 AH.[40]

Although in this early post-conquest period the majority of surviving manuscripts produced in Baghdad are in Arabic, when compared to the pre-conquest period discussed above, we find a substantial increase in the production of Persian manuscripts in Baghdad between 1258 and 1300 CE. So far, I have been able to trace five codices which include five Persian texts that can be dated to this period and that can be confidently linked to Baghdad as their place of copy. The increase in quantity of Persian manuscripts from the period before the conquest to that after the Mongol's took control of the city is accompanied by a growth in the variety of literary genres represented in these manuscripts. Of the five surviving Persian codices copied in this period, two are by the same author and contain works on philosophy and astronomy, another two are classical Persian works of literature, and finally there is one work on history written by the governor of Baghdad himself, ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī.[41]

The earliest Persian manuscript copied in this period is Afyon Gedik 18325, containing a copy of the *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī*, a work on ethics composed in Persian during the year 633 AH [1236-1237 CE] by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the famous polymath who became Hülegü's chief advisor after the conquest of Baghdad and the most influential intellectual of the Ilkhanate during this early period.[42] The original work was composed decades before the Mongol conquests, during the period in which Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was under the protection of the Ismāʿīlī

38 Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 10.

39 See, among other Arabic manuscripts copied in Baghdadi institutions in this period, Istanbul, Süleymaniye 1005 (copied at the Madrasa Niẓāmiyya on 25 Jumādā II 682 AH); Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 3286 (copied at the Madrasa Mustanṣiriyya in Dhū al-Qaʿda 682 AH).

40 Anonymous, *al-Hawādith al-Jāmiʿa*, trans. Āyatī, 245-246; Bosworth (ed.), *Historic Cities*, 40. The involvement of Mongol officials in supporting madrasas, mosques, and khanqahs is documented across the Ilkhanate. See, for example, Pfeiffer, Confessional ambiguity vs. confessional polarization, 129-168.

41 See works 2-6 in the table below.

42 On Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, see Lane, Ṭusi, Naṣir-al-Din; for an edition of the work, see Nasir al-Din Tusi, *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, ed. Mīnuvī and Ḥaydarī; *idem*, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. Wickens.

governor of Quhistan in present-day south-eastern Iran.[43] After the fall of the Ismāʿīlīs at the hands of the Mongol armies in 1256, Ṭūsī re-published this work with a new introduction that removed the name of the Ismāʿīlī ruler to whom the work was originally dedicated as an attempt to dissimulate the close connections he had with the now defeated Ismāʿīlīs. Due to the influence and popularity achieved by the *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* in the years to come, the work has often been defined as the 'single most important work on philosophical ethics in the history of Islam'.[44]

The work is divided into three discourses: the first and longest deals with ethical aspects in the life of individuals; the second considers aspects of economy and the management of family relationships; and the third discusses aspects of public life.[45] The colophon of the copy currently at the Afyon Gedik library tells us that the book was copied in Baghdad by a certain Muḥammad b. Suhayl b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ṭabarī during the last days of Shaʿbān 662 AH [July 1264 CE].[46] This manuscript is possibly the earliest copy of the text that has come to us, produced during the lifetime of the author and only six years after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad. Further, the colophon specifies that the manuscript was copied in the Madrasa Niẓāmiyya, anticipating the institutional role that madrasas played in early Mongol Baghdad in the production of manuscripts both in Arabic but now also in Persian. At least sixteen manuscripts in Arabic were also copied in this period in the Niẓāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya madrasas alone and we have exemplars copied in lesser-known institutions like the Sharīfiyya madrasa or the Ṭūṭūsiyya madrasa, or in *ribāṭ* like the al-Ḥarīm or the al-Urdūwāniyya.[47] One copy of a commentary on the *Qanun fi al-Tib* of Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037 CE) even survives, copied in the al-ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdad in 678 AH, a hospital that, according to most narrative sources, was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258; manuscripts like this one show that it continued to operate twenty years after the conquest.[48]

The other work in Persian authored by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and copied in Baghdad during this period is a reproduction of his famous work on astronomy entitled *Zīj-i Īlkhānī*. This is a compendium of astronomical tables of planetary movements produced by the author in the Maragha Observatory for his Mongol ruler and patron Hülegü in 1260, but only presented years later, to his son and successor, Abāqā Ilkhān (r. 1265-1282).[49] The work was composed in 1272, the year when the twelve-year cycle of planetary observations made by Ṭūsī and the astronomers in the observatory finished. Although later criticised by astronomers for

43 Madelung, Nasir al-Din Tusi's ethics, 85-101. The manuscript London, British Library, Add. 25,843 still contains the first version of the preface where Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī wrote eulogies to his Ismāʿīlī patrons with the new pro-Mongol preface copied in the margins. This manuscript was copied in Agra (India) in the year 1082 AH [1671 CE].

44 Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Arabic Version of Ṭūsī's 'Nasirean Ethics'*, ed. Lameer and al-Jurjānī. The quote comes from the blurb of this translation.

45 For a brief explanation of the work, see Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Nasirean Ethics*, trans. Wickens, 9-12.

46 Afyon Gedik 18325, fol. 112b.

47 See MS Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazil Ahmet Paşa 466, copied at the Ribāṭ al-Urdūwāniyya in Jumādā II 695 AH.

48 See MS University of Tehran, M 7815 work 1, copied at the al-ʿAḍudī hospital in 678 AH.

49 Boyle, Longer introduction to the Zij-i Ilkhani, 244-254. Another early copy of this work is London, British Library, Or. 7464, copied in the 13th century; see Meredith-Owens, *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts*, 24.

containing imprecisions in the operations, the work became very popular in the pre-modern Islamic world. Translations were made into Arabic and different copies have survived as parts of astronomical compendia dated well into the 15th century.[50] This copy, currently at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in Germany (MS Sprenger 1853), is divided into four parts separated as different discourses (*maqālāt*), subsequently sub-divided into sub-sections in a similar way as in other extant copies of the work.[51] We can tell that this copy circulated widely in the pre-modern period since corrections and additions were made to the book and two seals located on the title page mark later ownerships of the manuscript.

The colophon tells us that this manuscript was copied in the city of Baghdad in 689 AH [1290 CE], only seventeen years after the death of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.[52] The singularity of this copy does not reside in the fact that a work on astronomy was copied in Baghdad, because the city had been (and remained) a major centre for the transmission of scientific knowledge in the Islamic world. Instead, it is the fact that the work was copied in its original Persian language, evidencing the consolidation of Persian as a vehicle of knowledge transmission in Mongol Baghdad. But perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this manuscript resides not in the content of the text but in the identity of the person involved in its production. The name of the copyist of this manuscript is given as Nūyān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣrānī, suggesting, on the one hand, that the scribe was a Christian (*naṣrānī*) and, on the other, that he was possibly a member of the Mongol elite, given the reference to the noble Mongol title of *noyan* (*nūyān*) in his name.[53] The religious affiliation of the scribe would not be surprising since, as mentioned above, Baghdad was a multi-religious city during the final decades of the 13th century and other people carrying the same *nisba* are recorded in the contemporary sources as being close to the Mongol court.[54] However, the possible participation of a Christian Mongol prince in the copying of a Persian scientific manuscript such as this is rather unique in the literary history of the Ilkhanate, potentially revealing a major development in the process of transculturation between Mongol conquerors and native population in the Mongol-dominated Middle East.

50 Two interesting 14th-century copies survive of this work in the collection of the British Library. The first (Add. 7698) has no place of copy but could have been copied in Baghdad. The second (Add. 11,663) is an autographed copy of a recension of the *Zīj-i Īlkhānī* copied in Baghdad in Rabīʿ II, 796 AH [1393 CE] by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan Shāhanshāh al-Simnāni al-Munajjim (fl. 14th c.). See Rieu, *Catalogue*, 454-455.

51 For a description of this manuscript, see Pertsch, *Persischen Handschriften*, 357-358.

52 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sprenger 1853, fol. 140b.

53 On the use of the title *noyan* in Yüan China, see Ho Kai-lung, The office and noble titles, 151-152.

54 For example, there is Abū al-Karam al-Naṣrānī, executed by Arghūn Ilkhān in 1289, and the physician Ṣafī al-Dawlah al-Naṣrānī, who provided medical assistance to Ilkhān Geikhatu in September 1292. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿuʾt-tawarikh*, trans. Thackston, 566 and 577 respectively.

The same year that this apparent Christian Mongol *noyan* finished copying the *Zīj-i Īlkhānī*, another scribe living in Baghdad, called Rashīd al-Khawāfī, completed on Saturday, 4 Dhū al-Ḥijja 689 AH [9 December 1290 CE] a copy of the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 205), the celebrated historical chronicle of the Mongol invasions authored by the already mentioned ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī, governor of Baghdad, who was executed by the Ilkhān Arghūn only eight years before this copy was made.[55] This is a famous copy, already acknowledged by E.G. Browne at the beginning of the 20th century and used by scholars on many occasions for being the earliest most complete surviving copy of the text.[56] The connection of this manuscript to the city of Baghdad is less certain than the other copies included in this article. There are no references to the city in either the colophon of the work or in other parts of the book. However, the analysis made of pictorial and stylistic characteristics of the illustrations contained at the beginning of the manuscript, including one allegedly representing ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī himself (figure 2), have convinced different art historians that the manuscript was illustrated in Baghdad.[57] The fact that the text could have been written somewhere else and then moved to Baghdad to be illustrated cannot be ruled out. However, there is documentary evidence of a close connection between the copyist of the text and the city of Baghdad that reinforce the idea that the codex was copied in the city.[58]

This copy of ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī's text can be considered a luxury manuscript, with two full-page illustrations with the strong Chinese artistic influence commonly found in luxury Ilkhanid books.[59] The calligraphy is clean and the beginning of the manuscript includes a decorated, albeit unnamed, *shamsa* (ornate medallion) that might have been produced for either a ruler or a wealthy official in the Mongol court. The original decorated *shamsa* most possibly included the name of the author, the title of the work, and possibly the original patron of the manuscript, but its contents were erased and then replaced by a later owner of the book, Sātilmish b. Aybak b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Malikī, who acquired this book in Tabriz in the year 724 AH [1324 CE].[60] The manuscript remained as a family possession, passing on to al-Malikī's son (Shaykh Muḥammad, born in 727 AH), and four of his grandsons, whose names and dates of birth were also added to the first page of this manuscript.[61] Different *ex libris* and seals show how praised this luxury copy of the work became when it was taken first into the Timurid court of Sultan Amīr Ḥusayn b. Bayqarā Mīrzā (d. 1506) and later entered the collection of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II.[62]

55 Juwaynī, *Kitāb-i tārīkh-i Jahāngushāʾī*, ed. Qazvīnī, trans. Boyle.

56 Browne, Note on the contents, 30.

57 Simpson, Role of Baghdad, 91-115; Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, 41.

58 For the connections between Rashīd al-Khawāfī's scribal work and the city of Baghdad, see Kamola, Reconstructing Rashīdī manuscript production.

59 See, for example, the copy currently in the Khalili Collection in the United Kingdom. Blair, Compendium of chronicles; Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 162-197.

60 Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 199-201.

61 Supplément Persan 205, fol. 1a.

62 Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 554.



Figure 2: Mongol prince [Abāqā Ilkhān?] standing near ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī (mentioned as ʿAlā al-Dīn ṣāḥib [al-] dīvān), who writes sitting on a cushion under a pomegranate tree. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 205, fol. 2a.

As Baghdad recovered from the Mongol invasion thanks to the survival of its educational institutions and the financial support of a new ruling elite including figures such as the Juwaynī brothers, the production of the above-mentioned philosophical and scientific texts by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī or the chronicle of ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī – albeit in Persian – could be seen as obvious developments in a city that remained a centre for scientific and religious knowledge. However, rather surprisingly, manuscripts produced in this earlier period of the Mongol domination of Baghdad were not limited to scientific or historical works but included the copying of works often catalogued as classics of Persian literature. The first of these exemplars is the manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France, Persan 376, which contains a very early illustrated copy in Persian of the compendium of fables known as the *Kalīla wa Dimna*.[63] This famous work, allegedly composed in Sanskrit and translated into Middle Persian during the Sasanian period, was only made available in New Persian through the Arabic translation of the Pahlavi made in the 8th century CE by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. ca. 757 CE).

63 Gray, Fourteenth-century illustrations.

The text was extremely popular among Persian elites in the Ilkhanate, as reflected by the many 13th- and 14th-century copies surviving from the period.[64] Although the colophon of the work mentions clearly that the text was written by Abū Ṭāhir b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Widhkulī in the *madinat al-Salām* (Baghdad) in the year 678 AH [1279-1280 CE], there have been doubts about the date of composition of this text based on the fact that the illustrations included in the codex seem to have been added in the 14th or early 15th centuries.[65] However, later addition of images to an earlier text is not uncommon in medieval Islamic manuscripts, and in this case, there is no reason to doubt that the written part of the manuscript was composed in the 13th century as mentioned in the colophon.[66]

The other manuscript containing a literary work surviving from this period and copied in Baghdad is perhaps more surprising, since its circulation appears to be very much restricted to certain Persian intellectual circles of the Ilkhanate and the Seljuq Sultanate of Rūm. Manuscript 216 of the library of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul contains a version of the *Marzubānnāma*, copied 'on the eastern shores of the river Tigris in Baghdad' by a certain al-Murtaḍā b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī on the 10th of the month of Ramaḍān 698 AH [11 June 1299 CE].[67] This is the oldest and only illustrated copy of this work composed by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Varāvīnī (lived ca. 1225 CE) for Abū al-Qāsim Hārūn, vizier of the Ildiguzid Atabeq Uzbek b. Muḥammad of Azerbaijan.[68] This work is often described as belonging to the genre of 'mirror for princes', including stories and fables that in a didactic manner guide the reader along the right and virtuous path.

The production of these two literary works in Baghdad during the late decades of the 13th century cannot be a coincidence. It has already been pointed out that there is a close link between the *Marzubānnāma* and the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, with both works sharing similarities in their content, and the latter appears as one of the books that Varāvīnī recommends his readers to use as a literary model.[69] Further, the *Marzubānnāma* has already been shown to have circulated among Persian-speaking elites in Anatolia during this period. Surviving letters exchanged between middle-rank officials in 13th-century Anatolia commenting and sharing opinions about these works attest the wide circulation and consideration that Persian-speaking elites had for these literary works.[70]

The production of these Persian texts in this early period raises the question of the intended audience for these works in a predominantly Arabic-speaking city and mostly bilingual literate men. In the manuscripts, evidence for patronage in this period is scarce, but narrative sources such as those written by al-Dhahabī and others praised people like ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī

64 See Waley and Titley, An illustrated Persian text; O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*.

65 Gray, Fourteenth-century illustrations, 134.

66 For a description of the images, see Blochet, *Inventaire et description des miniatures*, 33-35; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 554.

67 Simpson, Role of Baghdad, 91-116. See Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, MS 216; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 566.

68 Varāvīnī, *Marzbān-nāma*, ed. Qazvini; ed. Rowšan.

69 Crewe Williams, Marzbān-nāma.

70 De Nicola, Letters from Mongol Anatolia, 84-85.

for rebuilding institutions like the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, where *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* was copied, and for offering financial rewards to authors dedicating works and poems to him in the city.[71] Both actions, the rebuilding of educational institutions and the promotion of literary activity in the city, contributing to the cultural recovery of Baghdad and indicate the establishment of a growing Persian elite in the city during this period that generated a demand for Persian texts. Hence, the presence of these Persian literary works in Mongol-ruled Baghdad in this period seems to suggest that a similar Persianised elite settled in the city with the establishment of the Mongol governorship, and that the manuscripts produced in the Persian language in this period were not only the consequence of the city's prominent role in science, philosophy, and history, but also that works of literature were produced for the consumption of an established Persian upper class that consumed classical Persian literature.

A New Muslim Dynasty: Persian Manuscripts in Baghdad After the Conversion of Ghāzān Khān

The ascension to the throne of Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295-1304) and his conversion to Islam marks a new period in the history of the Ilkhanate. Although the depth and commitment of the Islamic conversion of Mongol rulers has been questioned and debated for some time among scholars, the official recognition of Islam as the religion of the ruler had an impact in the relationship between Mongol rulers and their subjects.[72] As was often the case among the Mongols, the coronation of Ghāzān Khān was not a straightforward process but the result of a violent power struggle between different contenders to the throne.[73] When Ghāzān Khān finally managed to secure the Ilkhanate for himself, he annihilated political opposition and re-organised the networks of alliances with Mongol factions, local rulers, and officials in his administration.[74] The changes also impacted the city of Baghdad, where city governors changed at the same time that different Ilkhāns and viziers occupied the central government during the years before Ghāzān Khān's ascension to the throne.[75] But despite ongoing instability, Baghdad appears to have benefited from Ghāzān Khān's conversion to Islam in 1295. This event helped restore some of the city's diminished prestige as a centre of the Islamic world following the Mongol conquest and gained it a degree of centrality within the Ilkhanate. For instance, Ghāzān Khān paid particular attention to the city by reorganising its administrative authorities and visiting Baghdad at least twice within the first three

71 Anonymous, *al-Hawādith al-Jāmiʿa*, trans. Āyatī, 221-221; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, vol. 59, 80-83. As suggested by Michal Biran, the role of the Juwaynī brothers in the restauration of the city after the Mongol conquest might have been exaggerated by some sources, however, their role in the recovery of educational institutions in Baghdad appears to have been significant; Biran, Libraries, books and transmission of knowledge, 492.

72 On religious conversion and the Mongol engagement with the conquered populations, see Jackson, Mongols and the faith, 245-290.

73 This included the former Ilkhān Gaikhātū (r. 1291-1295), Ilkhān Baydu (r. 1295), and Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295-1304). See Boyle, Dynastic and political history, 372-379.

74 On the ascension of Ghāzān, see Boyle, Dynastic and political history, 379-386.

75 Kennedy and Zaryāb, Baghdad.

years of his rule.[76] The renewed interest in the city and the financial investment provided by Ghāzān Khān may well have accelerated the cultural recovery of the city started by ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī a few decades before.

In the last decade of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, Baghdad became a new centre of calligraphy, book illumination, and manuscript production. Under Ghāzān and his successor Öljaitü, the city was integrated into an administrative region of the Ilkhanate that also included cities such as Mosul and Hamadan. This whole region became a centre for manuscript production where luxury Qur'ans, such as the famous Öljaitü's Qur'an and other copies of the Holy Book commissioned by Ghāzān Khān,[77] were crafted and books in Arabic and Persian were written for the new Mongol elite, many of whose members had recently converted to Islam.[78] The revitalisation of Baghdad as a centre for manuscript production and calligraphy is epitomised by the figure of Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (d. 698/1298), who resided in the city under Mongol rule. Renowned for his contributions to Islamic calligraphy, his work includes illuminated copies of the Qur'an and the copying of other works, some of which were commissioned by Ghāzān Khān, reflecting a new tendency in Mongol cultural patronage in Baghdad during this period.[79] This burst in manuscript production in the *madinat al-Salām*, like in the preceding periods, was mostly done in the Arabic language. Different works in Arabic were produced in the city during the early decades of the 14th century, including works on theology (*kalām*), qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).[80]

Nonetheless, as we saw at the beginning of this article, Persian had already permeated into the madrasa scriptoria of Baghdad even before the Mongol conquest and the (re)production of Persian texts in the city expanded during the early 14th century. Up to ten different Persian works distributed across five manuscripts have survived from Mongol-dominated Baghdad in the early 14th century. In terms of the subject of the works, this period presents similarities and differences with the previous one. For example, we have no astronomical works in Persian (like the *Zīj al-Īlkhānī* mentioned above) being copied in this period, and the other copy of the *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* we have from 14th-century Baghdad was not copied until half a century after the end of the Ilkhanate (see table below).

76 During Ghāzān's first visit to Baghdad, he made a pilgrimage to the tombs of Abū Ḥanifa (d. 767 CE) and the Shia Imam Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar al-Kāẓim (d. 765 CE) before attending Friday prayers in the city. In his second visit in 1298, Ghāzān undertook fiscal reforms and financed new infrastructure in the city, such as a new canal in the river. See Kennedy and Zaryāb, Baghdad.

77 For a detailed description of the Qur'ans commissioned by Ghāzān and Öljaitü, see Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines*, 212-289.

78 De Nicola, The 'Kāmūsī Corpus', 439-461.

79 Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 242-260; Canby, Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī. For a description and analysis of all the surviving manuscripts copied by Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī, see Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 621-664.

80 See, as a few examples among many others, the *kalām* work by Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa (d. 747 AH), *Nihāyat al-hifāya Darāya al-Hadāya*, Manisa, Manisa Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS 526 work 1, copied in 715 AH; the *tafsīr* by Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar Zamakhsharī (d. 538 AH), *al-Kashshāf an ḥaqāʾiq jawāmiḍ al-tanzīl*, Istanbul, Süleimaniye Library, MS Laleli 216, copied 718 AH; or Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 677 AH), *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa l-ḥarām*, Mashhad, MS Ferdowsi University 303, copied in Baghdad on 16 Jumādā II 735 AH.

However, similar to previous periods, we have a copy of a world history and the reproduction of a seminal work on Sufism being copied in Persian in the city. The former is a copy of the *Blessed History of Ghāzān Khān* (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*) written by the Ilkhanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn. This version of the dynastic section of his *Compendium of Chronicles* (*Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*) was copied in the city in 717 AH [1317 CE], only a year before the execution of its author.[81] This copy, currently held at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul, is among the most complete versions of the work that have survived to this day and has become one of the primary sources for modern editions of the work.[82]

As for the work on Sufism, the survival of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sprenger 742, copied in Baghdad by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makārim al-Mushkānī, marks a continuation of an interest in Sufi literature in the city. This work is an excerpt in Persian from an Arabic commentary by a certain Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʾīl al-Bukhārī (d. 1043) on the *Kitāb al-taʿarruf li-madhāhib al-taṣawwuf*, composed in 380 AH [990 CE] by Abū-Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābādī (fl. late 10th century).[83] The manuscript was copied in the city of Baghdad in Ṣafar 713 AH [June 1313 CE] and although it is damaged in the central part of the codex, it is a very early copy of this translation that was apparently done only three years before on Rabīʿ I 710 AH [August 1310 CE].[84] The manuscript's paratext does not add much information regarding the circulation or impact of the codex after its production. However, the survival of this work evidences a potential continuity of demand for texts on Sufism in Persian that, as we have seen above, was already present in Baghdad from the early 13th century.

As in the previous period, there is an increasing demand for more literary Persian texts in this period, documented in the survival of two further manuscripts dated to the early 14th century, as the ruling Persianised elite in the city seems to consolidate its cultural activities in the city. This increase is documented mostly in manuscripts containing works in Arabic, but there are two remaining examples of manuscripts in Persian produced in Baghdad, dating from the time of the last Ilkhanid ruler Abū Saʾīd (r. 1316-1335).[85] Both coincide thematically with the manuscripts produced in previous periods of Mongol domination of the city mentioned in this article. The first is another copy of the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, which seems to have been the most popular piece of literature in Persian-speaking Baghdad if we consider not only the other copies produced in the 13th century but also the extensive allusions to the text made in other texts produced in this period (as we will see below).[86] This copy is currently in the Marʿashī Library in Qom (no. 11888), and its colophon mentions that it was finished on the

81 On Rashīd al-Dīn, see Blair, Compendium of chronicles; Kamola, *Making Mongol History*; Brack, *Afterlife for the Khan*.

82 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi R.1518. For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Kamola, Reconstructing Rashīdī manuscript production.

83 An edition of this Persian exert was published as Bukhārī, *Khulāṣah-ʾi Sharḥ-i Taʿarruf*.

84 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sprenger 742, fol. 4b.

85 Some examples of Arabic manuscripts produced in this period are given in Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 588-600.

86 See references to Zangī Bukhārī in his *majmūʿa* in this article.

1st day of the month of Muḥarram in the year 723 AH [10 January 1323].[87] The manuscript is transcribed in a neat script with titles and words underlined using red ink. However, the manuscript lacks all signs of ownership and marginal annotations, suggesting that this copy might have been produced for a restricted circle of readers, possibly kept in the personal library of a wealthy owner and not circulating very widely. The second is a copy of the story of *Humāy wa Humāyūn* by Khwājū Kirmānī (d. 1349?), composed originally in Baghdad in 1331 CE for Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd (r. 1316-1335).[88] The copy made in Baghdad (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Revan Köşkü 1045) is illustrated and has been dated to only a few years after its composition.[89]

Perhaps the biggest development in terms of literary production in Mongol Baghdad lies in the fact that in this period of the first half of the 14th century, there is evidence of the first newly composed texts in Persian produced in the city. These texts are all included in a multiple-work manuscript (*majmūʿa*) including six autographed works by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī, copied in a short period of time and finished in the month of Ramaḍān 713 AH [January 1314], at the peak of the reign of Öljaitü Ilkhān and his influential vizier Rashīd al-Dīn.[90] The codex is currently held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Or. Quart. 1675); perhaps because it has changed location several times in the 20th century, this manuscript has received very limited scholarly attention.[91]

The texts authored by Zangī Bukhārī included in this codex are often referred to as the *Zangīnāma*, a title used by Īraj Afshār in the edition of these texts.[92] There is very limited information about the life of Zangī Bukhārī. Apart from his *nisba*, which suggests a personal or ancestral origin in Central Asian, information about his life comes only from what he relates in his writings. We know that prior to the composition and copying of the *Zangīnāma*, he had accumulated some experience as scribe, and it is possible that he made a living out of copying books during his lifetime. This is suggested by the fact that in 709 AH [1309 CE] he copied a work by another author that is now in the Lala Ismail collection in Istanbul. This manuscript contains an anonymous piece entitled *Sharḥ-i Kalīla wa Dimna,* a Persian translation of an originally Arabic commentary on the classic work mentioned above.[93] In fact, it is possible that the inspiration to write at least some of the works in the *Zangīnāma* might have come from his knowledge of classical Persian works, including the commentary on the *Kalīla wa Dimna* he copied and other copies of this classical text that, as we have seen, were circulating

87 MS Qom, Maraʿshi no. 11888, fol. 180b.

88 De Bruijn, Ḵ̲ʿāju Kermāni.

89 The manuscript has no date but has been dated as belonging to the 14th century. Since I was unable to see this manuscript, I only refer to it for further research.

90 On Rashīd al-Dīn, see Kamola, *Making Mongol History*; on the role of Rashīd al-Dīn and the Ilkhān Öljaitü, see Brack, *Afterlife for the Khan*, 79-95; on his role as a patron of book production, see Ben Azzouna, *Aux origins*, 367-377.

91 The manuscript was kept temporarily at the library of the University of Tübingen to be protected from the bombardments of World War II, but was returned to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in 1968. For this article I have used both the original manuscript and the facsimile currently held at the Islamic Research centre in Qom (Islamic Republic of Iran).

92 Zangī Bukhārī, *Zangīnāma*, trans. Afshār.

93 See MS Istanbul, Lala Ismail 516. For an edition, see Anonymous, *Sharḥ-i akhbār*, ed. Īmānī, 333-340.

among the Persian elite of his time.[94] Although this earlier copy produced by Zangī Bukhārī does not specify its place of transcription, the brief interval of merely four years between the copying of the two manuscripts suggests a strong likelihood that his earlier copy was also copied in Baghdad.[95]

Returning to Or. Quart. 1675, the six works included in this manuscript deal mainly with fables and didactic stories with a strong mystical component.[96] Although this is not the place to offer a full explanation of these works, it is relevant to explore briefly their content and some characteristics of the production of this collection in the context of Mongol Baghdad.[97] The first of these six compositions (fols. 2b-118b) is the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl fī tarjumān al-manqūl* (The Garden of Intellects in the Interpreter of the Transmitted [Knowledge]),[98] a Persian translation and reformulation of specific sections dealing with animals extracted from the famous Arabic encyclopaedic work known as the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* composed during the 10th and 11th centuries.[99] We know that copies of the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* in its original Arabic were widely available and circulated among intellectual networks of Ilkhanid Baghdad, with an illustrated copy dated Shawwāl 686 AH [November-December 1287 CE].[100] In the introduction to the work, we are informed that this Persian translation was completed in Baghdad during the reign of Ghāzān Khān. The translator, Zangī Bukhārī, frames the endeavour as an attempt to bridge two intellectual traditions – linking the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, which he describes as a product of the western Islamic world, with the *Kalīla wa Dimna* of Indian origin – thus reflecting the broader cultural horizons opened to these intellectual elites since the establishment of the Mongol Empire.[101] Further, he tells us that he composed this text to make Arabic works more accessible to the Persian-speaking elite in Mongol Baghdad because '[when] seeing this honourable book (*nuskh-i sharīf*), [decided to] translate [it] into Persian and remove the veil (*niqāb*) of Arabic of the beauty of its meanings, so it can benefit the common people (*hamginān*).'[102]

94 Another copy of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* was also penned by Zangī Bukhārī in 697 AH [1297-8 CE], in what seems to be the earliest evidence of his scribal skills. There is no mention of where this manuscript was copied, but Baghdad cannot be ruled out. See Bursa, İnebey Library, Hüseyin Çelebi 763.

95 In addition, another work entitled *Nuzhat al-ʿāshiqīn* and authored by Zangī Bukhārī has survived to our days in another manuscript copied in the mid-14th century. See Istanbul, Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1589, fols. 380-387 (margins). There is a microfilm copy of this manuscript in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Microfilm 204. The work has also been edited by Iraj Afshar in Zangī Bukhārī, *Zangīnāma*, 121-145. This copy appears to have been copied in Shiraz, but it is possible that the work was originally composed in Baghdad by Zangī Bukhārī, despite no surviving copies having been made in Baghdad. For a description of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1589, see Savant and Montazer Mahdi, History of Iranian cities.

96 For titles and location of the stories in the manuscript, see the table at the end of the article.

97 Seyed-Gohrab, The rose and the wine.

98 For an edition of this text based on MS Or. Quart. 1675, fols. 2b-118a, see Zangī Bukhārī, *Bustān al-ʿuqūl*, ed. Afshār.

99 Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*; De Callataÿ, *Ikhwan al-safaʾ*.

100 On this copy, see the recent article by Qurboniev and Van Den Bossche, 'A scholarly copyist'.

101 Or. Quart. 1675, fols. 4a-5a.

102 Or. Quart. 1675, fol. 4a. The Persian reads:
'نانچ دید که این نسخ شریف را به پارسی کند و نقاب عربیت را از پیش جمال شاهدان معانیش بر اندازد تا سبب فایده ه . ددرگ'.

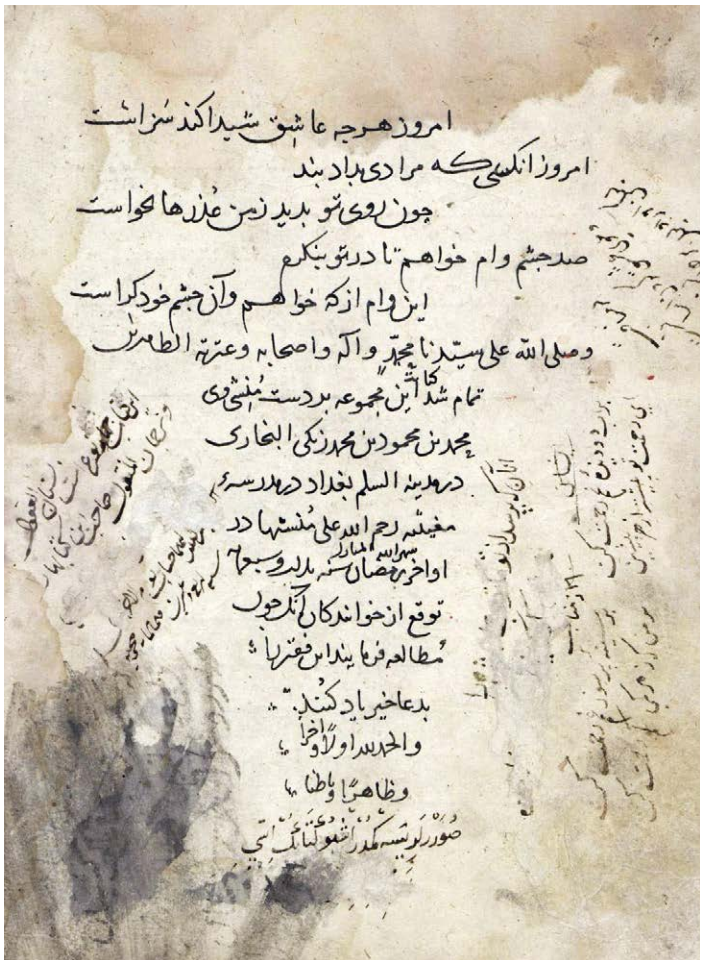

Figure 3: Colophon of MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Quart. 1675, fol. 181b.

The remaining five works included in Or. Quart. 1675 are of the genre of debates (*munāẓarat*), using stories and fables to convey mystical and moral lessons, that became popular in the Ilkhanate. The second work (fols. 120b-146a), *Dāstān-i pādshāh-yi zindah-yi shahr-i Ḥama* (Story of the King of Ḥama),[103] is a fictional story that delves into the life and reign of the ruler of Hama, a city in present-day Syria, using the story of the king as ethical and spiritual lessons to the reader. This is followed (fols. 146b-156a) by the *Munāẓara-yi gul va mul* (The Debate between the Rose and the Wine), a text written in the form of a debate that exposes the virtues and dangers of wine consumption.[104] The story had been in circulation among the Ilkhanid Persianised elite during the 14th century, with a version of this debate surviving in

103 This work has no title, but because it includes a section entitled "Story of the King of Ḥama" (*dāstān-i pādshāh-yi zindah-yi shahr-i Ḥama*), that is the title I use to refer to this work. The work also includes poems by Saʿdī Shīrāzī (d. 1298).

104 On this topic, see Seyed-Gohrab, The rose and the wine.

the famous miscellaneous work known as the *Ṣafina-yi Tabrīz* copied in Tabriz on Saturday, 14 Ṣafar 727 AH [10 January 1327] by Abū al-Majd Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd Tabrīzī.[105] Although in the version rendered in the *Ṣafina* the text is attributed to Sirāj al-Dīn Qumrī Āmulī (d. 1228), scholars argue that, until further evidence emerges on this attribution, we should consider Zangī Bukhārī as the author of the work.[106]

Two of the remaining three works in this compendium present different perspectives on spiritual or esoteric topics by personifying objects that exchange opinions on different issues, often concerning Sufi ideas and emphasising mystical dimensions of Islam. For example, the fourth work (fols. 156b-160a) is entitled *Munāẓara-yi mavīzāb va fuqqāʿ-i ʿajamīyān* (*The Debate between the Grape Juice and the Foreign/Persian Fizzy Drink*). This work is an interesting short debate between these beverages with clear references to Sufi intoxication that not only deals with aspects of Sufism but hints at the life of Persian migrants living in Baghdad in this period.[107] Similarly, the sixth work (fols. 168b-181b), the *Munāẓara-yi chishm va dil* (The Debate between the Sweet Eye and the Sad Heart), offers a dialogue between these two parts of the body symbolising the inner conflict between external perception and internal spiritual experience. The eye represents the outward senses that perceive the material world, while the heart embodies the inner, spiritual faculty that apprehends deeper truths beyond sensory perception. Finally, the remaining, fifth work (fols. 160a-168a) is also a debate, but has some characteristics that differ from the other two. While the previous two were authored by Zangī Bukhārī, this work is a continuation or explanation (*dhayl*) of an existing work known as the *Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*, written in the 12th century by Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʿUmar ibn Maḥmūd (d. 1163-1164).[108] Ḥamīd al-Dīn's original story mixes prose with poetry to tell the adventures of an anonymous hero travelling between the visible and the spiritual world.[109] The commentary composed by Zangī Bukhārī only concentrates on a single section out of the twenty-four chapters of the original work. His intention, as mentioned in the preface, was to write this short explanation to correct some of the mistakes he found in a copy of the original *Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*, showcasing that his professional activities as a scribe were combined, as with other men of letters of this period, with an active engagement in the intellectual production of his time.[110]

In addition to the diverse content found in manuscripts from this period, these texts indicate a revival of manuscript production in 14th-century Baghdad. This resurgence appears to be influenced by two interconnected factors previously discussed in this article: the active

105 See MS Tehran, Majlis 14590, work 199, fols. 719-721.

106 Seyed-Gohrab, The rose and the wine, 74; ʿAzīzābādī, Manāẓarat-i gul.

107 This work has recently been translated in Rugiadi *et al.*, Mavīzāb and Fuqqāʿ, 449-476.

108 ʿUmar ibn Maḥmūd, *Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*, ed. Nizhād.

109 Massé, Ḥamīdī. The work quickly became famous in the Persianate world, and different manuscripts of this work have survived from this period. For example, a copy of this text, like the above-mentioned *Debate between the Rose and the Wine*, can be found in the *Ṣafina-yi Tabriz*. See MS Tehran, Majlis 14590, fols. 220-227, dated 18 Shawwāl 722 AH [6 November 1322 CE].

110 MS Or. Quart. 1675, fols. 160a-b. Illustrious examples of 13th- and 14th-century scribes famous for their literary, historical, and scientific productions are Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Rāvandī (fl. 1202) and Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311), to mention only two. See Hillenbrand, Rāvandī, the Seljuk court; Pourjavady and Schmidtke, The Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.

participation in cultural endeavours of a new elite of Persian origin, both individually and through their significant involvement in the cultural activities within Baghdadi madrasas. Their engagement not only facilitated the production of manuscripts but also contributed to the broader cultural and intellectual revitalisation of the city during this era.[111] Whereas in the previous period we observed a lack of individual patronage in the production of Persian manuscripts in Baghdad, the situation in this regard is rather different in the 14th century. For example, the autographed works left by Zangī Bukhārī reflect not only an awareness of the literary milieu of his time and a proficiency in the art of copying books but also a close proximity between the author and the Mongol administration of the Ilkhanate.

Individual patronage of books is more clearly evidenced in this period. For example, the first work of Zangī Bukhārī is dedicated to the *ṣāḥib dīvān* Saʾd al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Tāj al-Dīn [Savājī] (d. 1312),[112] the political rival of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn and the dedicatee of various works in the early 14th century like the *Tuḥfa al-Saʾdiyya* of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311) or a number of works by the polymath Niẓām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (d. 1338), among others.[113] The remaining five works in the manuscript Or. Quart. 1675 are not all dedicated to Mongol officials, but also to members of his own intellectual class. For example, the second work of the *Zangīnāma*, *The Story of the King of Ḥama*, was written as a request to create an illustrative story on generosity (*jawānmardī*) and the request was accepted because Zangī Bukhārī found that this quality in humans was something valued not only in Islam but praised by all religions (*bi jamiyat-i dīn*).[114] Further, the third work in this compendium (*The Debate between the Rose and Wine*) is dedicated to a possible Mongol official addressed with the title of *amīr* and named as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tarkhānī.[115] Finally, the fifth work in the compendium, the *dhayl* written on the *Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*, is dedicated to a certain Shams al-Dīn Jājarmī, to whose name the laudatory epithet *bahīr al-islām wa al-muslimīn* is added.[116]

A final point should be made about the links between Zangī Bukhārī and the Ilkhanid court through the above-mentioned **copy of the** *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*. This manuscript was copied in Baghdad a year before Rashīd al-Dīn's execution, but the name of the copyist is not mentioned in the codex. However, Īraj Afshār has speculated that it might have been copied by Zangī Bukhārī, the author and copyist of the *Zangīnāma*.[117] Although this

111 For example, the appointment of professors at madrasas in Baghdad was a prerogative of the *ṣāḥib dīvān* of Iraq. See Wu, *The Fall of Baghdad*, 158.

112 MS Or. Quart. 1675, fol. 5b.

113 On Saʾd al-Din Muḥammad Savājī (d. 1312), *ṣāḥib dīvān* of Ghāzān Khān, see Boyle, Dynastic and political history, 386-402.

114 MS Or. Quart. 1675, fol. 120b.

115 MS Or. Quart. 1675, fol. 169a.

116 I was unable to identify this person. Another Shams al-Dīn Jājarmī is mentioned by Barthold, but in the context of mid-15th-century Samarkand. See Barthold, *Four Studies*, 161.

117 See Taqī and Afshār, *Fihristvārah-ʾi kitābkhānah-i Mīnuvī*, 102. Afshār suggests a connection between a Baghdadi manuscript of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* and the scribe Zangī Bukhārī, though he does not specify which manuscript he refers to. The copy housed at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (R.1518) emerges as a plausible candidate, particularly since a facsimile of this codex was part of the Mīnuvī collection. However, to confirm Zangī Bukhārī's role as the copyist of Rashīd al-Dīn's text, further comparative analysis of his known manuscripts and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi R.1518 is necessary.

connection is speculative, I have shown how Zangī Bukhārī was a well-trained scribe who made a living out of copying Persian manuscripts in Baghdad and had close connections with officials in the Mongol court. His status as a well-known Persian scribe and close relationship with the Persianised elite of Baghdad make him a serious candidate to be the copyist of the manuscript Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi R.1518, adding another potential close connection to the Mongol court.

Finally, the second factor contributing to the recovery of manuscript production in 14th-century Baghdad, and connected to the role of the elite, is the institutional role that Baghdadi madrasas played in the production of Arabic, but also Persian, manuscripts in this period. The reconstruction of madrasas and centres of learning initiated in the period following the Mongol conquest continued in the 14th century, partially reinforcing the copying of books on religious sciences and Islamic law in Arabic. Evidence suggests that not only large madrasas such as the Mustanṣiriyya or the Niẓāmiyya continued producing manuscripts in this period, but other educational centres in the city also increased the production of Persian books. For example, the manuscript containing the six works that make up the *Zangīnāma* was copied at the Madrasa Maghīsiyya in Baghdad (figure 3), an educational institution that survived the Mongol conquest and was later repaired under the governorship of ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī.[118] Similarly, the copy of the *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī* discussed above was part of Rashīd al-Dīn's efforts to distribute copies of his works across a network of scriptoria set up in different cities of the Ilkhanate and to secure the production and circulation of his works.[119] According to Ibn Fuwaṭī, the Persian vizier established a scriptorium within a madrasa he himself founded in Baghdad (referred to as the Madrasa Sulṭāniyya) where scribes and historians were hired to supervise and produce copies of his works.[120] Therefore, although there is no specific mention of the place where MS R.1518 was copied, it is most likely that this manuscript was copied at the Sulṭāniyya madrasa, a school established in the city by Rashīd al-Dīn specifically for this purpose.

The death of Abū Saʾīd and the dissolution of the Ilkhanate in 1335 did not stop the production of Persian manuscripts in Baghdad. The members of the Jalayirid dynasty that succeeded the Mongols in Iraq and Baghdad were active patrons of the art of the book during the central decades of the 14th century.[121] The advance westward of the Timurid armies, who conquered Baghdad in 1401, might have affected once again the production and survival of manuscripts in the city. However, manuscripts continued to be copied in generous quantities in Baghdad, albeit mostly in Arabic, during the 14th and 15th centuries.[122] For their part, the

118 Mohsin, King Alla al-Din al-Juwaini, 1674.

119 Ben Azzouna, Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript production, 187-200.

120 Ben Azzouna, Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript production, 197.

121 Duda, Buchmalerei der Galāʾiriden; Çağman and Tanindi, Selections from Jalayirid books.

122 Between the death of Abū Saʾīd in 1335 CE and the year 1400, we only found three Persian texts copied in Baghdad. First, there is another copy of the *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (MS Tehran, Majlis ibrary, no. 1424/18422), on 12 Ṣafar 786 AH [5 April 1384 CE]. Second, a *majmūʿa* containing different Persian and Arabic works (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 3365) copied at least partially in Baghdad in 793 AH [1390-1391 CE]. Finally, a copy of the *Tāj al-Māthir* (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 2847), an account of the events of the Delhi Sultanate at the turn of the 13th century written by Ḥasan Niẓāmī (fl. 12th-13th centuries), copied at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa in Baghdad in 795 AH [1392-1393 CE].

number of Persian manuscripts in the second half of the 14th century from Baghdad seems to have diminished (or at least there is a decrease in the survival rate) until the final decades of the 14th century.[123]

Conclusion

This article has offered a preliminary survey of Persian manuscript production in Mongol Baghdad, drawing on a representative – though necessarily limited – corpus of surviving codices. While Arabic remained the dominant literary and scholarly language throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, the increased presence of Persian texts during the Mongol period marks a significant shift in the city's cultural landscape. Even before the conquest of 1258, Persian had begun to circulate in Baghdad as a vehicle of literary expression, but it was under the Ilkhanate that its use expanded considerably. This expansion coincided with Baghdad's integration into a broader Eurasian network and its repositioning from the intellectual capital of the Islamic world to an important node within the Mongol Empire.

The flourishing of Persian manuscript production in Baghdad appears to have been driven by the arrival of a Persianised administrative elite under Mongol patronage. This elite, including governors like ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī, played a crucial role in revitalising Baghdad's educational infrastructure. Madrasas such as the Niẓāmiyya, the Maghīsiyya, and the Sulṭāniyya were not only restored but became key centres for the copying of Persian works across a wide range of genres, including philosophy, literature, science, and history. The role of individual authors and scribes, such as Zangī Bukhārī, further highlights the importance of both institutional and personal agency in this cultural transformation.

The surviving manuscripts also illustrate the 'glocal' dynamics of Mongol rule, where local traditions of learning and manuscript production coexisted with new demands favoured by imperial integration. These texts confirm certain details found in narrative sources – such as the continuity of madrasa activity after the conquest – while also revealing patterns of literary patronage and linguistic adaptation that are not explicitly discussed in contemporary chronicles. For example, the diffusion of works like *Kalīla wa Dimna* and the *Marzubānnāma* and the composition of new Persian works like those included in the *Zangīnāma* suggest that Persian literary works were not merely tolerated but increasingly demanded as a medium of knowledge and entertainment by a new ruling elite.

In sum, the case of Mongol Baghdad demonstrates that the city did not experience cultural decline after 1258 but rather underwent a process of adaptation and renewal. Persian manuscripts from this period reflect a dynamic scholarly environment shaped by imperial power, administrative reforms, and local intellectual resilience – offering valuable insight into the complex multicultural nature of the Mongol world.

123 On the decline and end of the Ilkhanate, see Melville, End of the Ilkhanate, 307-335.

List of Persian Manuscripts from Mongol Baghdad

(in chronological order of copying)

#	Title	Author	Date of composition	Date of copy	Name of copyist	Place of copy	Subject	Shelfmark	Library
1	*Risāla al-Qushayrī fī ʿilm al-Tasawwuf*	Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 1072 CE)	11th c. CE	5 Dhū al-Ḥijja 601 AH [24 July 1205 CE]	Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī	Baghdad	Sufism	Or. 4118	British Library, London (UK)
2	*Munājāt*	ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī al-Harawī	11th c. CE	Possibly early 13th c.	Unknown	Possibly Baghdad	Sufism	Or. 4118	British Library, London (UK)
3	*Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī*	Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274 CE)	633 AH [1236-1237 CE]	662 AH [1263-1264 CE]	Muḥammad b. Suhayl g. ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ṭabarī	Niẓāmiyya madrasa (Baghdad)	Ethics	Afyon Gedik 18325	Gedik Ahmet Paşa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Afyonkarahisar (Turkey)
4	*Kalīla wa Dimna*	Abū al-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh Munshī	1143 CE (New Persian translation)	678 AH [1279-1280 CE]	Abū Ṭāhir b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Widhkulī	Baghdad	Fables	Persan 376	Bibliothèque nationale de France
5	*Zīj-i Īlkhānī*	Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274 CE)	1272 CE	689 AH [1290 CE]	Nūyān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣrānī	Baghdad	Astronomy	Sprenger 1853	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
6	*Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*	ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī	1260 CE	Saturday, 4 Dhū al-Ḥijja 689 AH [9 December 1290 CE]	Rashīd al-Khawāfī	Most probably Baghdad	History	Supplément Persan 205	Bibliothèque nationale de France
7	*Marzubānnāma*	Saʿd al-Dīn al-Varāvīnī	Early 13th c.	10 Ramaḍān 698 AH [11 June 1299 CE]	al-Murtaḍā b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī	Baghdad	Fables	MS 216	Istanbul Museum of Archaeology (Turkey)
8	*Bustān al-ʿuqūl fī tarjumān al-manqūl*	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī	Early 14th c.	10 Jumādā I 713 [2 September 1313]	Autograph	Probably Madrasa Maghīsiyya (Baghdad)	Various	Or. Quart. 1675/1	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
9	*Dāstān-i pādshāh-yi zindah-yi shahr-i Ḥama*	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī	Early 14th c.	Not after end of Ramaḍān 7(1)3	Autograph	Most possibly Madrasa Maghīsiyya (Baghdad)	Allegorical debate	Or. Quart. 1675/2	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
10	*Munāẓara-yi gul va mul*	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī	Early 14th c.	Not after end of Ramaḍān 7(1)3	Autograph	Most possibly Madrasa Maghīsiyya (Baghdad)	Allegorical debate	Or. Quart. 1675/3	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
11	*Munāẓara-yi mavīzāb va fuqqā-i ʿajamīyān*	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī	Early 14th c.	Not after end of Ramaḍān 7(1)3	Autograph	Most possibly Madrasa Maghīsiyya (Baghdad)	Allegorical debate	Or. Quart. 1675/4	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
12	*Dhayl Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī	Early 14th c.	Not after end of Ramaḍānn 7(1)3	Autograph	Most possibly Madrasa Maghīsiyya (Baghdad)	Allegorical debate	Or. Quart. 1675/5	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)

13	*Munāẓara-yi chishm va dil*	Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī	Early 14th c.	End of Ramaḍān 7(1)3	Autograph	Madrasa Maghīsiyya (Baghdad)	Allegorical debate	Or. Quart. 1675/6	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
14	*Kitāb al-taʿarruf li-madhāhib al-taṣawwuf*	Abū-Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābādī (fl. late 10th c.); commentator: Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 1043 CE)	ca. 11th c.	Ṣafar 713	Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makārim al-Mushkānī	Baghdad	Sufism	Sprenger 742	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Germany)
15	*Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*	Rashīd al-Dīn	First decade of the 14th century	717 AH [1317 CE]	Unknown (Possibly Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Zangī Bukhārī)	Baghdad (Madrasa Sulṭāniyya?)	History	R.1518	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul (Turkey)
16	*Kalīla wa Dimna*	Abū al-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh Munshī	1143 CE (New Persian translation)	1 Muḥarram 723 AH [10 January, 1323]	Unknown	Baghdad	Literature	11888	Marʿashī Library, Qom (Iran)
17	*Humāy va Humāyūn*	Khwājū Kirmānī	1331 CE (in Baghdad)	Possibly 14th c	Unknown	Baghdad	Literature	Revan Köşkü 1045	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul (Turkey)
18	*Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī*	Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274 CE)	633 AH [1236-1237 CE]	Thursday, 12 Ṣafar 786 AH [5 April 1384]	ʿAbd al-Majīd ibn Najīb al-Dīn ibn Ḥājjī ʿAbd Allāh Sārbān	Baghdad	Ethics	1424/18422	Majlis Library, Tehran (Iran)
19	*Different*	Anonymous (work 1) / remaining works by Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Jājarmī (fl. 14th c.)	Unknown	793 AH (work 1)	Fatḥ Allāh ibn ʿUbayd Allāh Qazwīnī	Baghdad (work 1)	Poetry	Arabe 3365	Bibliothèque nationale de France
20	*Tāj al-Māthir*	Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥasan Niẓāmī-i Arūzī (fl. 1229 CE)		795 AH	Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Fārizī	Baghdad		Ayasofya 2847	Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (Turkey)

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Figure 2: Mongol prince [Abāqā Ilkhān?] standing near ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Juwaynī (mentioned as ʿAlā al-Dīn ṣāḥib [al-]*d*īvān), who writes siting on a cushion under a pomegranate tree. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 205, fol. 2a.

Figure 3: Colophon of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Quart. 1675, fol. 181b.

Reconstructing Rashīdī Manuscript Production: The Case for a Baghdad Scriptorium

Stefan Kamola*

Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) left very specific instruction for how his scholarly works, including the historical compendium, the *Collected Histories* (*Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*), were to be reproduced and distributed. However, these plans were disrupted by his fall from grace and execution. Several partial manuscripts of the *Collected Histories* have survived from Rashīd al-Dīn's lifetime, but they do not match his instructions. This suggests that additional editorial processes shaped the early production of the text. This article compares the earliest manuscripts of the *Collected Histories* and the evidence surrounding Rashīd al-Dīn's book production efforts to better understand the origins of the main manuscripts used in modern editions of his history of the Mongols. This is made possible by the recent reemergence of a previously unstudied manuscript that helps fill in the lacunae of its source manuscript. This new manuscript, part of the collection of the Aga Khan, has never been used in any edition of Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the Mongols, but it offers great promise in reconstructing the early form of the work. Using that manuscript, this article presents the hypothesis that a group of scholars edited the *Collected Histories* at a scriptorium in Baghdad in the second decade of the fourteenth century. This may in turn help explain the appearance of certain seemingly contradictory textual additions made to the *Collected Histories* during the last years of Rashīd al-Dīn's lifetime.

Keywords: Rashīd al-Dīn, ghāzāniyya, Baghdad, manuscript production, Mongol history, Persian historiography, Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh

The *Collected Histories* (*Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*) of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318 CE) is probably the best known work produced at the court of the Ilkhans, the Mongol dynasty that ruled Iran from 1256 until 1335. Commissioned in two stages by the Ilkhan brothers Ghāzān (1295-1304) and Öljeitü (1304-1316), the collection contains two volumes: a dynastic history of the Mongols called the *Blessed History of Ghāzān* (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*), and a history of the known world. With the wealth that he gained from the *Collected Histories* and other projects completed for his Mongol patrons, Rashīd al-Dīn established a series of charitable endowments across the Ilkhanid realm where, among other things, scribes worked to produce copies of

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various works, including the *Collected Histories*. It is in part due to these efforts at self-promotion that Rashīd al-Dīn's history has survived the centuries since his death.[1]

Just as the *Collected Histories* is the best known Ilkhanid work, its early manuscript witnesses, prepared at Rashīd al-Dīn's endowed scriptoria, are among the most recognisable artefacts in the study and publication of Iranian history during the Mongol period. Of these, the most famous by far is found in two fragments in the collections of the Edinburgh University Library (MS Or. 20) and Nasser Khalili (MS 727). These fragments provoked a sensation when they were identified in the 1830s as two parts of the same copy, and they have remained a landmark in the study of Persian book art ever since.[2] In late 2022, an adjunct art history instructor at Hamline University in Minnesota was summarily fired for showing an image of the Prophet Muhammad from this manuscript in class, triggering a significant controversy within American academia.[3]

The manuscript that has had the most impact on the textual reception of the *Collected Histories*, however, contains no images, even though it was formatted to receive at least forty-eight of them. It is a nearly complete copy of the *Blessed History* currently in the collection of the Topkapı Saray Museum in Istanbul, catalogue number R.1518. It was copied in Baghdad in the fall of 1317, less than a year before Rashīd al-Dīn's death, and is therefore the earliest dated copy of the *Blessed History*. Its claim to be the most important witness to the text derives from its secure and early provenance, its nearly complete condition, and its relative lack of scribal errors. This makes it the natural choice as a base text for the work, and it was selected as such by Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī for their edition of 1994.[4] In that edition, Rawshan and Mūsavī make regular reference to a second early manuscript, now in Tashkent (Abu Rayhon Beruni Institute, MS 1620), to fill in gaps in the 1317 Baghdad manuscript.

One striking fact that has gone largely uncommented is that the manuscript now in Tashkent and the corresponding folios of the Baghdad manuscript are near doppelgängers of one another, exhibiting exactly the same dimensions, the same number of lines per page, and the same formatting for illustrations and section headers. Indeed, more often than not these two manuscripts contain precisely the same passages of text on each page, often down to the individual word. In the world of manuscript production, before printing or even standardised manufacture of scribal tools, finding two such nearly identical manuscripts suggests a remarkable level of coordination in their production. In this case, we know exactly when and where one book was copied, but not the other. If we were dealing with anyone

1 For a thorough examination of Rashīd al-Dīn's endowment activities as part of his effort to preserve his own historical memory, see Hoffmann, *Waqf im mongolischen Iran*.

2 This manuscript has been most thoroughly treated by Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*.

3 The controversial image depicts Muhammad receiving revelation from the archangel Gabriel (Edinburgh University Library, MS Or. 20, fol. 45b). The decision to show it in class initially cost Erika López Prater her job. Dr. López Prater's dismissal subsequently led Hamline faculty to request the resignation of their president, Fayneese S. Miller, who instead announced her retirement. Christiane Gruber, who spearheaded the academic defence of Dr. López Prater, has since produced an online discussion of the manuscript and its images of Muhammad; see Gruber, *Jamiʿ al-tawarikh*.

4 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rawshan and Mūsavī, hereafter *JT*/RM.

other than Rashīd al-Dīn, this would be a dead giveaway that these manuscripts were products of the same scriptorium and that the manuscript now in Tashkent should also be linked to late Ilkhanid Baghdad.

But we are dealing with Rashīd al-Dīn.[5] In the endowment deed for the Rashīdī Quarter (*rabʿ-i rashīdī*), his main complex of charitable and scholarly institutions outside the Mongol capital of Tabriz, Rashīd al-Dīn famously provided strict instructions for the reproduction of his own works, as discussed below. This opens the possibility that the 1317 Baghdad copy of the *Blessed History* and the undated copy now in Tashkent might have been produced in nearly identical form in isolation from one another. On the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn's instructions stipulate that Arabic copies of his works were to be distributed to Arabic-speaking cities and Persian copies to Persian-speaking cities. The idea that one – and possibly two – Persian-language copies of the *Blessed History* were produced in Baghdad, a predominantly Arabic-speaking city, seems to defy the very instructions that might otherwise explain the similarity between them.[6]

In short, when trying to reconstruct the early production of the *Blessed History*, we face a dilemma. Either the 1317 Baghdad manuscript and the manuscript now in Tashkent were part of Rashīd al-Dīn's plan for the reproduction of his works, or they were not. If they were, then why was one, and possibly a second, Persian copy produced in Arabic-speaking Baghdad? If they were not part of Rashīd al-Dīn's official programme of reproduction, then how are they so similar to one another that they are almost interchangeable? In either case, why do two otherwise identical manuscripts diverge from one another in a few isolated yet significant instances? The aim of this article is to examine the evidence for the production of Rashīdī manuscripts – defined as manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's work, produced during his lifetime in scriptoria established or managed by him – to consider how closely manuscripts made in the second city of the Ilkhanate matched their author's instructions. The focus here is on the historical *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, though copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological writings will be considered in so far as they contribute to the discussion.

In the absence of its colophon, several possibilities exist for the origin of the manuscript now in Tashkent, any of which carries remarkable implications. It may have been produced at Rashīd al-Dīn's central scriptorium at Tabriz, in which case it is the only copy of the *Blessed History* produced there known to have survived. From Tabriz, it may have been sent (incomplete, as the illustrations were never added) to Baghdad or to a different city. If it was sent to Baghdad, a Persian copy sent to an Arabic city, it may have been a source for the copy made there in 1317. In that case, the few but significant differences between the two manuscripts demand an exploration of what the copyists in Baghdad were up to, in light of Rashīd al-Dīn's strict reproduction instructions. If it was not sent to Baghdad, or if it was produced in a city other than Tabriz or Baghdad, then the close similarities in the formatting of the manuscript

5 My thanks to Sheila Blair, who consulted on this project before and after the Vienna conference (*pers. comm.*, 30 November and 2 December 2022) and who deserves credit for such a clear articulation of the unique factors that must be considered when dealing with Rashīdī manuscripts.

6 On Baghdad as a predominantly Arabic-speaking city, where mainly Arabic books were produced, see Bruno De Nicola's contribution to this volume.

in Tashkent and the 1317 Baghdad manuscript suggest a remarkable level of copy control across Rashīd al-Dīn's network of scriptoria. We know that Rashīd al-Dīn was interested in Chinese block printing, and elsewhere I have argued that his obsessive instructions for precise reproduction of his works reflect a desire to approach the precision that block printing made possible.[7] If the manuscript in Tashkent was produced in isolation from the 1317 Baghdad copy, it would show that he succeeded.

This article may not provide definitive conclusions, and a reader may reasonably disagree with the hypotheses raised here. The effort of mustering evidence from textual and material sources, including a previously unknown manuscript of the *Blessed History*, should at least shed some light on the messy reality that resulted from Rashīd al-Dīn's careful prescriptions for the reproduction of his own works. Taken together, this evidence allows us to reasonably posit a group of scholars, including the librarian and biographer Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (1244-1323), the scribe Rashīd Khwāfī (active c. 1290-1310), and the latter's son Mubārakshāh (active c. 1317), working in Ghāzān Khān's endowed madrasa in Baghdad to produce an early edited version of the *Collected Histories*.

This article is structured around three contexts for understanding the 1317 Baghdad manuscript: first, the context of the 1994 edition by Rawshan and Mūsavī; then the context of related manuscripts, including a previously unstudied copy in the collection of the Aga Khan; and finally the context of Rashīd al-Dīn's instructions for manuscript reproduction. This last context is explored through three bodies of evidence from manuscript studies, including secondary testimony by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī about the people involved in the production of Rashīdī manuscripts. The final section offers one interpretation for untangling this evidence to explain how the two manuscripts at the centre of this study can be nearly identical yet different in a few important ways.

The 1994 edition of the Blessed History

The 1317 Baghdad copy of the *Blessed History* is mostly complete: the first and sixth folios are missing, the surviving opening pages are out of order, and there are several short internal lacunae that may simply be attributed to scribal error.[8] Otherwise, it contains the entirety of the text, in a format that probably reflects Rashīd al-Dīn's final vision for the *Blessed History*, which I have elsewhere labelled the ζ recension.[9]

7 Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 140-142.

8 The first six folios of the manuscript in its current form were fols. 7, 8, and 2-5 in the original book.

9 Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 138-140, 222-225.

Hypothetical foliation	*JT*/RM page numbers	Tashkent manuscript	Aga Khan manuscript	Baghdad manuscript
1	A1a-b	Missing	1	Missing
2	1, 2	1	2	3
3	3, 4	4	3	4
4	5, 6	5	4	5
5	7, 8	Missing	5	6
6	9, 10, A10b	3	6	Missing
7	A11a, 11	2	7	1
8	12, 13	Missing	8	2
9	14, 15	Missing	9	7
10	16, 17	6	10	8

Figure 1: Hypothetical reconstruction of the opening folios of the Blessed History. *Hypothetical foliation on the left is compared to the numbering of Rawshan and Mūsavī (*JT*/RM) and the surviving folios of three main manuscripts. The Baghdad and Tashkent manuscript have been used for the edition, with passages supplied from Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods Razavi, MS 4101 (*JT*/RM manuscript A, represented by folio numbers in the format A1a). The complete state of the Aga Khan manuscript (from which the Āstān-e Qods manuscript was copied) makes it a preferable source for this portion of text.*

In their edition of the *Blessed History*, Rawshan and Mūsavī correct the errors of the Baghdad manuscript by reference to the undated copy in Tashkent. The Tashkent manuscript is also a very early copy, and it preserves several short passages that seem to have been dropped from the 1317 Baghdad copy through scribal error. However, the manuscript in Tashkent contains numerous lacunae, limiting its usefulness as a base text. The largest lacuna is of approximately the last one-fifth of its original pages, meaning there is no colophon providing a date or place of production.[10] Since the Tashkent manuscript also lacks some of its opening pages, the editors further rely on a related manuscript in Mashhad (Āstān-e Qods Razavi, MS 4101).[11] (See Figure 1 for a concordance of the extant opening folios of the Baghdad manuscript, the manuscript now in Tashkent, and the Aga Khan manuscript described below.)

We know that Rawshan and Mūsavī's main manuscript was made in Baghdad in late 1317 because its colophon has survived. (See appendix for the text and translation of this and related colophons discussed below.) It is not signed – a fact to which we will return – though the copyist identifies himself in a note added to the text of the *Blessed History* as Mubārakshāh b. Rashīd Khwāfī.[12] The final line of the colophon provides the date and location for the copying of the manuscript. The bulk of the colophon, however, describes how the *Collected Histories* took shape. Much of this is familiar from the description that Rashīd al-Dīn himself offers in

10 For more on the Tashkent manuscript in the reception of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, see Kamola, Editing Rashīd.

11 The manuscript in Mashhad is descended from the Tashkent manuscript via the copy now in the collection of the Aga Khan, which is the focus of a later section of this article.

12 Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Müzesi, MS R.1518, fol. 251a.

his general introduction to the work: a dynastic history, the *Blessed History of Ghāzān*, was prepared on the instruction of Ghāzān Khān, and a second volume was added under the instruction of Ghāzān's brother and successor Öljeitü, which included a history of the world and of his own reign.[13] No extant copy of the second volume includes the history of Öljeitü, and there has been some discussion as to what shape it would have taken.[14] The colophon of the Baghdad manuscript, however, would have us believe that Rashīd al-Dīn ended up appending the history of Öljeitü from volume two to the end of volume one for the convenience of readers and copyists who might not have access to the full *Collected Histories*.

Indeed, the colophon of the Baghdad manuscript is followed by at least one and a half manuscript pages of text about the accession of Öljeitü. This begins at the top of fol. 342a with a header for the "beginning of the *dāstān* of the Pādishāh of Islam, Öljeitü Sultan, may his kingship be eternal". Near the top of the verso, a section header announces the "account of the gathering of the royal banners and the blessed accession of the Pādishāh of Islam – may his kingship be eternal – to the throne of the sultanate". The beginning of the text of this section occupies the top half of the page. The bottom has been formatted for an image.[15]

It seems that the author of the colophon has interpreted this short text as an accommodation on the part of Rashīd al-Dīn, calling it an addendum (*dhayl*) and an inclusion (*dākhel*) of text that originally formed part of the second volume of the *Collected Histories*.[16] However, Rashīd al-Dīn's table of contents for the *Blessed History* suggests that such a section of text was originally intended as part of the dynastic history. In the Baghdad manuscript, and in most manuscripts of the work, the table of contents for the volume ends with an entry for the "*dāstān* of the blessed accession of the Shahanshāh of Islam, Öljeitü Sultan".[17] In the main witness to the earliest extant version of the text, however, this entry in the table of contents announces the "*tārīkh* of the blessed accession of the Shahanshāh of Islam, Sultan Muḥammad Khudābanda Khān".[18] This can be considered the original header for the section on three grounds. First, it is included in the earliest surviving recension of the text. Second, it is designated as a *tārīkh* instead of a full *dāstān*, marking it as different from the three-part *dāstān*s that Rashīd al-Dīn provides for royal Mongols from Dobun Bayan to Ghāzān Khān. Finally, it

13 For Rashīd al-Dīn's description of the two-stage commission, see *JT*/RM 1, 8-9; Thackston, *Rashiduddin*, 3, 6-7; Thackston, *Classical Writings*, 1, 3. For a new assessment of how the world history took shape and became part of the collection, see Kamola, The first draft.

14 The life and reign of Öljeitü is best known from ʿAbd Allāh Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljaitu*, ed. Hambly. Recent scholarship has substantiated Qāshānī's claims that Rashīd al-Dīn appropriated his work for much of the rest of the World History: Otsuka, Qāshānī; Kamola, Salghurid history. It may be that the *Tārīkh-i Uljaitu* was at one point intended as part of the *Collected Histories*.

15 For this study, only a microfilm scan of the Baghdad manuscript was available. It is therefore unknown if this narrative continues on further pages. Another manuscript, London, BL, MS Add. 16688 (discussed below), fols. 291b-293a, contains a slightly extended version of the same text.

16 The colophon does not name Rashīd al-Dīn, and the word translated here as author, *muṣannaf*, could also be read as "scribe". However, the inclusion of the supplication "*ʿazza naṣruhu*" indicates that Rashīd al-Dīn is meant. The version of this same colophon found in Toronto, MS AKM 517 (discussed below) includes the same supplication also when referring to the *muṣannaf* at the start of the colophon.

17 Istanbul, TSM, MS R.1518, fol. 6a; cf. London, BL, MS Add. 7628, fol. 408b; Tehran, Majles, MS 2294, fol. 5a.

18 Munich, BSB, MS Cod. Pers. 207, fol. 80b.

uses Öljeitü's pre-sultanic name Khudābanda Khān, indicating it was written contemporary with or shortly after his coronation. We would expect such a section to look much like the passage that survives at the end of the Baghdad manuscript: a short account of Khudābanda's accession, rather than a full narrative of the life and reign of Öljeitü Sultan, which was only envisioned later as part of the second volume of the *Collected Histories*.

The text found after the colophon of the Baghdad manuscript – or something like it – should therefore be considered as an integral part of the *Blessed History*. Textually, it is related to the description of Khudābanda's coronation found in the general introduction to the *Collected Histories*, and it was probably written in the interval between the death of Ghāzān in May 1304 and the presentation of the *Blessed History* to Khudābanda Öljeitü that fall, before the new Ilkhan gave instructions for the second volume. The colophon from 1317 in the Baghdad manuscript therefore deviates from the table of contents when it calls the text about Öljeitü's accession an addendum and insertion from the second volume into the first. It also deviates by describing the *Collected Histories* as a two-volume work, making no mention of a third volume described in the table of contents. That would have been a world gazetteer which, like the history of Öljeitü's reign planned for the second volume, has not survived.[19]

In short, the manuscript made in Baghdad in the fall of 1317 seems on the whole to present Rashīd al-Dīn's final vision for the *Blessed History*, and it has been treated as such by editors. However, its colophon strongly suggests that its scribe did not understand the form originally intended for the *Blessed History* and adjusted his description of the work accordingly, calling the *tārīkh* of Öljeitü's coronation an inclusion from volume two and entirely ignoring volume three, which had been promised but not completed. This incongruity can be explained if we consider the Baghdad manuscript as the product of a secondary editorial process conducted late in Rashīd al-Dīn's life by scholars outside his direct supervision. To arrive at that conclusion, however, first requires a close comparison of the Baghdad manuscript with the manuscript now in Tashkent. That comparison is facilitated by the recent appearance of a previously unknown copy of the Tashkent manuscript.

The Aga Khan manuscript and the question of copy control

As already mentioned, the Baghdad manuscript and the copy now in Tashkent are very similar to one another. Each is formatted with a written surface of 34 × 24 cm, and copied in a very clear *naskh* script with 29 lines of text per page. Throughout, the two manuscripts align very closely in their headers, spaces for images, formatting of genealogical trees, and even the specific portions of text per page. The lacunae of the Tashkent manuscript have previously made a thorough comparison impossible. However, the recent reappearance of another manuscript allows us to better appreciate the measures taken to align these manuscripts with a specific layout for the *Blessed History* and, therefore, with one another.

19 But see Kamola, The first draft, for the idea that the gazetteer was originally envisioned as part of the world history.

The new manuscript is part of the collection of the Aga Khan, accessioned to the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto as MS AKM 517.[20] Prior to being auctioned in October 2000, the manuscript had never come to the attention of scholars working with the *Blessed History*. It contains no date or place of copy, though it includes a variation of the colophon found in the 1317 Baghdad copy, to which we will return. Based on the style of its opening illumination, the manuscript can be linked to the court of the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh (1405-1447).[21] The Aga Khan manuscript contains 344 folios, currently of 37 × 27 cm, but trimmed down from larger original sheets. These have been numbered in Arabic numerals by the page, rather than the folio. (For folio numbers given below, p. 1 equates to fol. 1b.) The written surface measures about 29 × 20 cm, with 29 lines of very good *naskh* per page, in several hands. Headers are written in gold, blue, red, and occasionally yellow. The latter half of the manuscript is disordered.

The Aga Khan manuscript is demonstrably a copy of the defective early copy now in Tashkent. For its entire length, it exhibits precise fidelity to the page and even line breaks of the Tashkent manuscript, with identical formatting of headers, genealogical trees, and spaces for illustrations. In several places the manuscripts share lacunae, such as the missing family tree of Chaghadai. The most definitive evidence establishing this as a copy of the manuscript in Tashkent is the fact that, in at least two places, the Aga Khan manuscript reproduces lacunae that resulted from damage done to the Tashkent manuscript. On fols. 50a and 65a there appear empty square spaces where the last half of nine consecutive lines of text should be. On the opposite side of the sheet from each of these spaces one finds space for the image of a Mongol ruler and his wife attached to the genealogical tree showing their descendants.[22] These same two images have been cut out of the manuscript in Tashkent, leaving holes in the pages that were later repaired.[23]

The Aga Khan manuscript was evidently copied after these images were cut out of the Tashkent manuscript and before it was repaired, when square holes were missing from the folios. A third instance where this might have been the case (MS AKM 517, fol. 56) cannot be verified, as the corresponding page in the Tashkent manuscript is now lost. Of eight missing folios of the Aga Khan manuscript, six correspond to pages that would have contained genealogical trees. Of these, two are missing from the Tashkent manuscript and two others are represented there by replacement folios. These four may have never been part of the Aga Khan

20 For general information on this manuscript, see Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 223-224, where the correct order of folios is given, though the typographical error "1-27" should be read as "1-327", and two folios are missing after page 335, instead of one; see also https://collections.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/jami-al-tavarikh-tarikh-i-mubarak-i-ghazani-the-blessed-history-of-ghazan-akm517.

21 Christie's, Rashid al-Din Fadlullah; Ilse Sturkenboom, *pers. comm.*, 29 May 2024.

22 These are Dobun Bayan on fol. 50b and Bartan Bahadur on fol. 65b.

23 Tashkent, Abu Rayhon Beruni Institute, MS 1620, fol. 25b (Dobun Bayan) and fol. 49b (Bartan Bahadur). Two such original images remain *in situ* in the Tashkent manuscript: those of Ögödei and Boraqchin (fol. 108b) and of Hülegü and Doquz (fol. 190b). Other Ilkhanid examples of these enthronement scenes can be found in the Diez Albums; Kadoi, The Mongols enthroned, 269-275. There is no reason to suspect that any of the images found in the Diez Albums were taken from the Tashkent manuscript, as they contain no evidence of text on their reverse side.

manuscript when it was copied. Discounting the missing genealogical trees, the only text definitively missing from the Aga Khan manuscript are two folios from the third *qism* of the *dāstān* of Ghāzān Khān.[24] Nine other folios (218-226) are later replacement pages, in a finer, smaller hand. In this case, the original eleven folios of the Tashkent manuscript (211-221) have survived, making direct comparison possible between it and the Baghdad manuscript.

Clearly, then, the Aga Khan manuscript preserves more of the text than its source. It is, in fact, the most complete copy from the ζ recension preferred for editions of the text. While some portraits of Mongol rulers had already been cut out, the Tashkent copy apparently suffered its most significant damage after the Aga Khan copy was made. As a result, the Aga Khan manuscript can serve as a surrogate for its source manuscript when comparing it to the manuscript made in Baghdad in 1317. Here again the correspondence is almost exact, with large portions of the two manuscripts aligning page for page, line for line, and even word for word. In a few places, the manuscripts fall out of sync with one another, but they always end up coming back into alignment.

For example, the material of fifteen folios in the Tashkent (fols. 19-33) and Aga Khan manuscripts (fols. 24-38) is squeezed onto twelve folios of the Baghdad manuscript (fols. 22-33). Later, 39 folios in the Aga Khan manuscript (fols. 237-257 and 282-298, plus one folio missing after fol. 242) correspond to 31 folios in the Baghdad copy (fols. 263-293). In both cases, the folios before and after these misaligned sections correspond exactly to one another. (See Figure 2 for details on the alignment of the Tashkent, Aga Khan, and Baghdad manuscripts.)

The most interesting case of how these manuscripts are kept in sync with one another concerns the ancestors of Chinggis Khan. This section contains the only significant textual variation between the 1317 copy from Baghdad, on the one hand, and the Aga Khan manuscript, on the other. (A large lacuna in the Tashkent manuscript makes it impossible to include it in this comparison.) Unlike the Aga Khan manuscript, the 1317 Baghdad manuscript contains a one-page story of the abduction of Hambaqai Khan, the Mongol ruler two generations before Chinggis Khan, whose abduction by the Tatars and execution by the Jurchen Jin provided a *casus belli* for subsequent Mongol campaigns. In several places, Rashīd al-Dīn gives brief encapsulations of the story, but it appears in full only in the 1317 Baghdad copy and other manuscripts closely related to it.[25] To add just this, however, would put the Baghdad manuscript out of sync with the others by exactly one page, or half of a folio. To correct for this, the text and diagrams on the adjacent folios are copied more spaciously in the Baghdad manuscript than in the Aga Khan, with extra space given for headers and genealogical trees. (See Figure 2 for the location of this variant.) In the end, after six folios in the Baghdad manuscript (fols. 47-52) and five in the Aga Khan manuscript (fols. 52-56), the two come once again into alignment with one another.

Clearly, then, there was significant control exercised over the production of these manuscripts to make sure that they adhered to a particular model and, when they deviated from that model, that they quickly realigned with it. Given that the 1317 Baghdad manuscript

24 This lacuna falls between fols. 318 and 319 in the manuscript and corresponds to fols. 308 and 309 of Istanbul, TSM, MS R.1518 *(JT*/RM, 1392-1401).

25 On this alternate abduction narrative, see Kamola, The poppy and the mulberry.

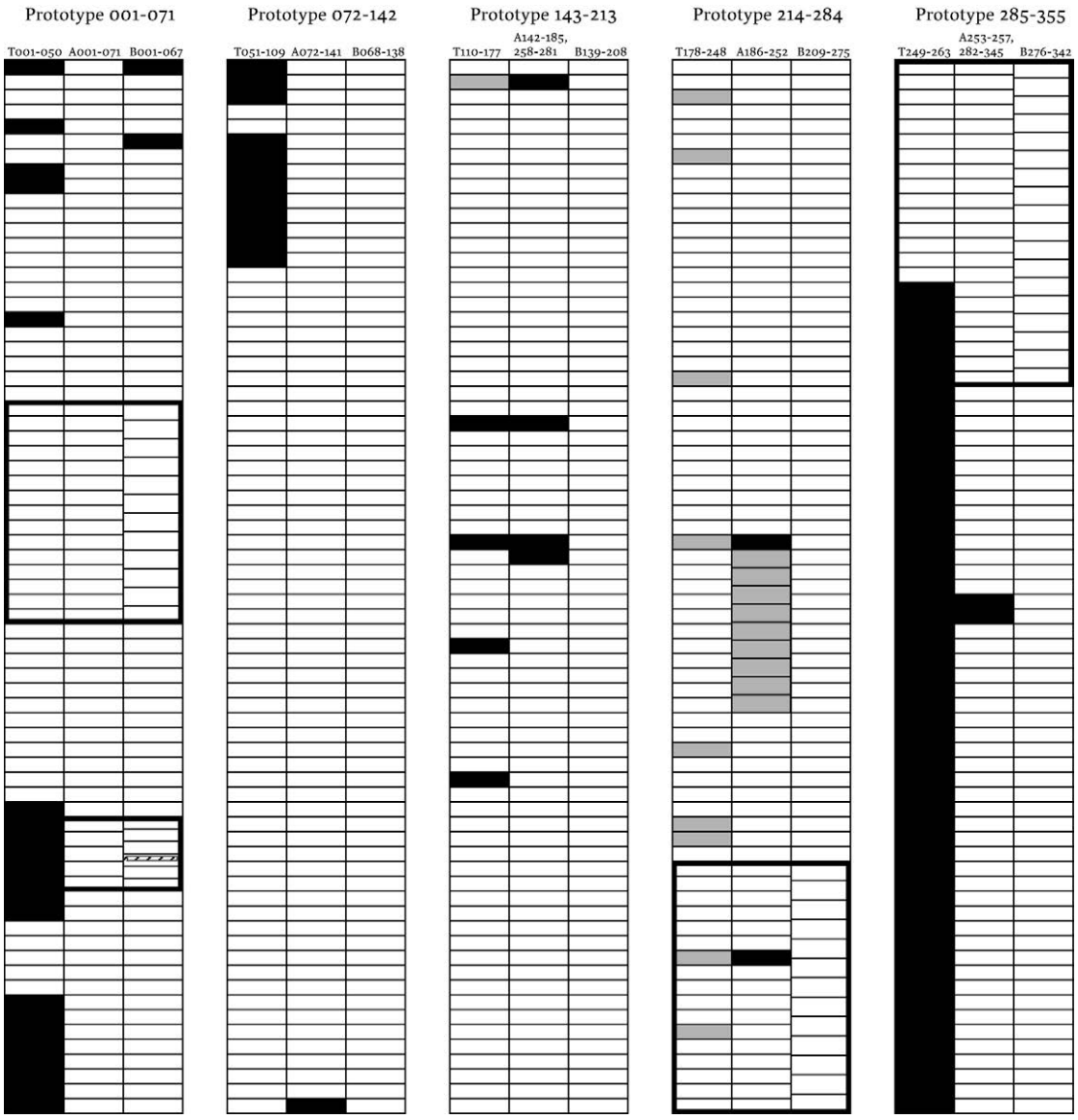

Figure 2: Hypothetical reconstruction of ζ-recension manuscripts. Each column represents a manuscript: Tashkent (T), Aga Khan (A), and Baghdad (B). Each cell represents one folio. Lacunae are shaded black; replacement pages are shaded grey. Sections of misalignment are outlined in bold. The section containing the story of Hambaqai Khan found in the Baghdad manuscript is marked in diagonal lines in the lower part of the first column.

and the one now in Tashkent also have the same dimensions, this kind of alignment, for any other text by any other author, would immediately suggest that the two manuscripts were produced at the same scriptorium, where the same scribes used the same paper and the same tools to prepare and copy from a single exemplar.[26] However, we know that Rashīd al-Dīn

26 There is still very little scholarship on individual scriptoria. For an example, though, of how format correlates to an individual atelier – in this case to the Tabriz scriptorium of Rashīd al-Dīn – see Blair, Calligraphers,

took extraordinary measures to prescribe the reproduction of his own texts at the Rashīdī Quarter. The question facing us, then, is whether the controls that kept these two early manuscripts in sync with one another were part of Rashīd al-Dīn's Tabriz-based reproduction programme, or were instead part of a local project in Baghdad, where we know at least one of them was made.

Whichever way we answer this question carries interesting implications. If Rashīd al-Dīn's reproduction instructions could lead to nearly identical manuscripts being reproduced in different places, then we could probably use the Baghdad, Tashkent, and Aga Khan manuscripts to reconstruct the form of the *Blessed History* as it was produced at the Rashīdī Quarter. If, on the other hand, the Tashkent manuscript is seen as the product of the same atelier that produced the manuscript with the colophon linking it to Baghdad, then we are left searching for a specific scriptorium where these manuscripts would have been made and a reason for the few but significant deviations that do distinguish them from one another, such as the addition of the story of Hambaqai Khan. Revisiting the terms of Rashīd al-Dīn's reproduction programme, alongside evidence from the writing of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and from other surviving manuscripts from the period allows us to hypothesise such a scriptorium in northern Baghdad where the *Collected Histories* was edited and reproduced by scholars inspired by, but acting independently of, Rashīd al-Dīn's instructions.

Rashīd al-Dīn's plans for manuscript reproduction

We can state confidently that Rashīd al-Dīn asserted strict controls over the reproduction of his works, since his own instructions in this regard have survived. They are found in the text of the endowment deed (Ar. *waqfiyya*, Pers. *waqfnāme*) for the Rashīdī Quarter.[27] However, based on the dating of the earliest manuscripts and the testimony of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (discussed below), it is clear that this centralised reproduction project began even before the endowment deed was written. Building on the work of Sheila Blair, Nourane Ben Azzouna has reconstructed a three-stage development of Rashīd al-Dīn's instructions for manuscript production at the Rashīdī Quarter.[28] The first phase, included in the original endowment deed of 1309, calls only for the reproduction of manuscripts of the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* collection of Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (1149-1210). An appendix to the endowment was added between late 1309 and 1311, and a second was added later, probably in early 1314.

In each of these appendices, Rashīd al-Dīn expands the list of books to be copied to include various titles of his own, including his historical compendium and several theological and scientific collections. According to the first appendix, four of Rashīd al-Dīn's works were to be copied in Arabic and Persian and distributed to madrasas in the major cities of the Ilkhanate according to the predominant language spoken in each: Arabic copies to Arabic-speaking

illuminators and painters, 176-177.

27 The endowment deed has been published in facsimile and in typographical edition; Rashīd al-Dīn, *al-Waqfiyya al-rashīdiyya*, 1972 (facsimile) and 1977 (type), ed. Mīnuvī and Afshār.

28 Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 296-332; Ben Azzouna, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh; developing on Blair, Writing and illustrating history.

cities and Persian copies to Persian-speaking cities.[29] These copies were to be available to loan out to individuals to copy for their own use. Within the Rashīdī Quarter, several of the same works (the *Collected Histories* excepted) were to be taught and scholars supported by the endowment were required to make copies for their own use.

The second appendix expands the number of works to be copied as well as the scale of reproduction.[30] Notably, Rashīd al-Dīn stipulates that, in addition to the production of deluxe exemplars at the main endowment in Tabriz, all his works, including his historical, theological, and scientific collections, were to be copied through the practice of simultaneous dictation there and at twenty other sites throughout the Ilkhanate. Each site was to work according to a rotating seven-year schedule, so that three full copies were produced in the realm each year.

Several copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological and historical works have survived from Rashīd al-Dīn's centralised manuscript production project, so we know the format and production quality of manuscripts made under his direction. Even before he instructed the Rashīdī Quarter to reproduce his works, the Persian and Arabic exemplars of his theological collection, the *Majmuʿa-i rashīdī*, had been produced, possibly at a mobile scriptorium attached to the itinerant royal court.[31] A copy of the Arabic *Majmuʿa* includes a colophon linking its production to the Rashīdī Quarter in 1311 or 1312, after the first appendix was added to the endowment deed.[32] At least three partial copies of the world history from the second volume of the *Collected Histories* can also be linked to the Tabriz scriptorium.[33]

In addition to their deluxe illumination and, in the case of the historical works, their illustration, all of these manuscripts were produced in the same format, with a written surface of 37 × 26 cm. Each of them is copied in 35 lines per page except the earliest, the Persian *Majmuʿa-i rashīdī*, which has 33 lines per page.[34] Presumably these represent the format of the exemplars from which copies were made for distribution and which were used for copy-

29 Rashīd al-Dīn, *al-Waqfiyya al-rashīdiyya*, 1972, ed. Mīnuvī and Afshār, 293-296; 1977, ed. Mīnuvī and Afshār, 237-241; summarised by Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 296-298; Ben Azzouna, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, 192-193.

30 Rashīd al-Dīn, *al-Waqfiyya al-rashīdiyya*, 1972, ed. Mīnuvī and Afshār, 325-344; 1977, ed. Mīnuvī and Afshār, 241-252; summarised by Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 299-323; Ben Azzouna, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, 193-197.

31 These are Tehran, Golestan, MS 2235 (the Persian exemplar, dated 5 May 1309) and Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2324 (the Arabic exemplar, copied between 1307 and 1310); Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 333. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 295, follows Shimo, Three manuscripts, in suggesting that an undated copy of the *Blessed History* was also produced under these circumstances. Elsewhere I have argued that this is an early Timurid copy; Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 219-220.

32 Doha, MIA, 6/1998.

33 The Arabic copy dated to 1314 (now divided between Edinburgh University Library, MS 20, and the Nasser Khalili Collection, MS 727) and parts of a Persian copy (also dated 1314, later reconstructed by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū and now in Istanbul, TSM, H.1653) contain colophons linking them to the Rashīdī scriptorium in Tabriz. By comparison, fragments from another copy have been attributed to the Rashīdī Quarter. Those fragments are now divided between Istanbul, TSM, H.1653, and another similarly reconstructed manuscript that has since been dispersed. On the Persian fragments and their reconstructions, see Ghiasian, *Lives of the Prophets*, 81-91.

34 An additional deluxe manuscript of the Persian world history with 35 lines per page was presumably lost in the fire that destroyed the library of the Nawabs of Awadh in Lucknow in 1857.

ing by dictation at the Rashīdī Quarter. Also, given the fact that multiple copies of the Arabic theological works and the Persian world history have survived, this may have been the format of copies distributed to regional madrasas, where they would have become the exemplars used for subsequent recopying.

Of course, the survival of Rashīd al-Dīn's instructions to reproduce his works, of the exemplars, and of a few copies made from them does not mean that his full manuscript reproduction plans were ever realised. Rashīd al-Dīn was a man of grand ideas, many of which came late in his life and were never carried through to completion. He fell out of favour and was executed in 1318, just a few years after writing his second appendix to the endowment deed that lays out the full programme for book production. Thus, there would not have been time to complete the seven-year cycle of reproduction at the regional scriptoria before his fall from grace, even if those centres were fully equipped and staffed and had copies of the works on hand to be copied at the moment the appendix was drafted. Those exemplars would have first had to be produced at the Rashīdī Quarter according to the processes laid out in the first appendix, and even if that was carried out to the letter, only a handful of copies in Arabic and the same number in Persian would have been circulated to other cities. Rashīd al-Dīn's final wishes for the mass reproduction of his own works could never have reached the scale he intended.

Rashīdī manuscript reproduction outside of Tabriz: three bodies of evidence

Evidence does suggest, however, that even during his lifetime, some degree of copying and editing of Rashīd al-Dīn's works did occur outside of Tabriz. Other than the Persian and Arabic exemplars and the Arabic copy of the *Majmuʿa* already discussed, eleven copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological and scientific work survive from his lifetime.[35] Of these, only two preserve colophons giving their location of copy: one from the Ḥakamiyya madrasa in Ghāzān's foundation of Shanb in Tabriz, the other from the Ghāzāniyya madrasa in Baghdad. For the early historical manuscripts under consideration here, evidence comes from three sources. Taken together, these allow us to speculate on the activities of one regional scriptorium, possibly the Ghāzāniyya foundation in the north of Baghdad, as an active centre of editing and recopying the *Collected Histories* in the late Ilkhanate.

Exhibit A: Deluxe copies of the Collected Histories

Besides the manuscripts that can be confidently attributed to the Tabriz scriptorium, several extant copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's historical writings can be attributed to the Ilkhanid period, and even to the lifetime of the author. These exhibit different formats from the Tabriz copies, but similar formats to one another. Again recalling the lack of industrial standardisation in the production of paper or scribal tools, the appearance of manuscripts with the same dimensions of written surface and number of lines per page suggests that they were produced

35 Seven of these are catalogued by Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 579-589, numbers 65, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75, and 76. Unexamined by Ben Azzouna are St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS 375; Tehran, Malek, MS 1281; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Pers. c. 35; and Islamabad, Ganj Baksh Library, MS 13789.

at the same workshop or that their production was coordinated in some other way. We cannot rule out the idea that Rashīd al-Dīn coordinated the format of manuscripts at the various locations in his network of scriptoria, which would have been a remarkable feat in its own right. Lacking any direct evidence that he did so, however, we can only speculate on why such close similarities exist between surviving early copies of the *Collected Histories*.

Returning to the manuscripts compared earlier in this article, the Baghdad manuscript and the manuscript now in Tashkent from which the Aga Khan copy was made exhibit the same *mise en page*: a written surface of 34 × 24 cm and 29 lines of text per page. This, as well as the clear efforts taken to keep the manuscripts in sync with one another on a page-by-page basis, suggests a shared place of origin. Given that they do not match the manuscripts known to have been made in Tabriz, this raises the very real possibility that the Tashkent manuscript was made in the same scriptorium as the copy dated 1317, and that both were copied in Baghdad from an exemplar sent there from Tabriz as part of the reproduction scheme laid out in the first appendix to the Rashīdī Quarter endowment deed. Rashīd al-Dīn does not specify which cities were to receive copies of his works and in what order, but Baghdad was second only to Tabriz in the political and cultural life of the Ilkhanate. If any city was to receive copies in the few years that the reproduction programme might have been in operation, the City of Peace must have been high on the list, if not at the top.

This picture is further complicated by the survival of two other manuscripts with similar dimensions to the Tashkent and Baghdad manuscripts, but with 31 rather than 29 lines per page. The first is the most complete copy of the Persian world history dated to Rashīd al-Dīn's lifetime, Istanbul, TSM, MS H.1654. Based on the quality of the few original illustrations that exist in this book, it has typically been ascribed to the Rashīdī Quarter in Tabriz.[36] However, there is no direct attestation to Tabriz in the manuscript, and its format is closer to that of the 1317 Baghdad copy of the *Blessed History* – sharing at least the written surface dimensions with that book – than it is to any Rashīdī manuscript known to have been produced in Tabriz. The second manuscript is Tehran, Golestan, MS 2234, a seemingly very early copy of the *Blessed History* also written in 31 lines per page, with a reported written surface of 35 × 23 cm.[37] The similarity between these two manuscripts hints at a shared provenance with one another, at least. That the dimensions of their written pages are similar to those of the Baghdad and Tashkent manuscripts leaves open the possibility that they, too, were copied in Baghdad, though they could also be productions of a separate Rashīdī scriptorium in another city of the realm.

The evidence from early manuscripts of the *Collected Histories*, then, is inconclusive, but it opens the possibility that the collection was copied in Baghdad (and perhaps at least one other regional scriptorium) in a format somewhat smaller than the one used in Tabriz. There remain the questions of why the 1317 Baghdad manuscript was copied in Persian, and why it exhibits small but significant textual variants from the manuscript now in Tashkent and its Aga Khan copy.

36 See most recently Ghiasian, Topkapı manuscript.

37 My thanks to Professor Ghasem Gharib for this information (*pers. comm.*, 18 June 2023).

Exhibit B: The testimony of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī

We owe a great deal of our understanding of Ilkhanid society to the biographical compendium of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, who worked as librarian in the Mustanṣariyya madrasa in Baghdad.[38] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī wrote short sketches of individuals from various walks of life whom he met through his work or while travelling, including on several trips to the capital region around Tabriz.[39] In doing so, he preserves information about several people involved in reproducing Rashīd al-Dīn's works. Famously, he mentions (entry no. 768) a certain ʿAfif al-Dīn al-Naqqash, whom he saw illuminating a book by Rashīd al-Dīn at Sultan Öljeitü's camp in Arran in 705 AH (1305-1306 CE).[40] Two other entries (nos. 3196 and 4156) mention individuals copying Rashīd al-Dīn's theological works in the capital region in 706 AH (1306-1307 CE) and another (no. 4047) names a third copyist, with no date or location given.[41]

A second group of individuals that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī names in relation to Rashīd al-Dīn are four scholars (nos. 101, 120, 1135, and 1386), including a lawyer and a scholar of *ḥadīth*, who were working at a madrasa that Rashīd al-Dīn had established within the Ghāzāniyya complex in Baghdad.[42] Three of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's meetings with these scholars are dated to the year 713 (1313-1314 CE), indicating that the madrasa was operating by the time that Rashīd al-Dīn wrote the final appendix to the endowment deed of the Rashīdī Quarter. The Ghāzāniyya foundation, established by Ghāzān Khān and subsequently put under Rashīd al-Dīn's supervision, is one of only a handful of locations that Rashīd al-Dīn specifically names among the twenty locations outside of Tabriz where copying of his works was to take place, and it is likely that his own madrasa would have been the site within the Ghāzāniyya where this would have happened.

Two additional notices by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī deserve special attention in that they contain references both to copying Rashīd al-Dīn's work and to the Ghāzāniyya in Baghdad. One of them (no. 4074) states that the pharmacist Majd al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Baghdādī was copying Rashīd al-Dīn's works at the madrasa of the Ghāzāniyya in the year 713, and it further locates the madrasa (and by extension the entire Ghāzāniyya) near the Zafariyya gate.[43] This gate, also known as the Wasṭānī or Khurāsān gate, was on the northeast side of the city and is one of the few sections of the medieval fortifications to survive to this day.[44]

A final entry of particular note (no. 3814) concerns a certain Kamāl al-Dīn Musā al-Ardabīlī, whom Ibn al-Fuwaṭī met in 714 AH (1314-1315 CE) at the Sultan's madrasa of the Ghāzāniyya and whom he agreed to help with the collation of the *Collected Histories*.[45] Elsewhere, I have shown that Rashīd al-Dīn modified the text of the *Collected Histories*, and especially the

38 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*. Entry numbers here refer to the al-Kāẓim edition of 1995.

39 For an overview, see Melville, Ebn al-Fowaṭī.

40 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. al-Kāẓim, I.478.

41 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. al-Kāẓim, III.561-562, IV.436, IV.392.

42 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. al-Kāẓim, I.131-132, I.146, II.109, II.233.

43 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. al-Kāẓim, IV.403.

44 For more on the Wasṭānī gate in the urban fabric of medieval Baghdad, see Andrew Peterson's contribution to this volume.

45 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. al-Kāẓim, IV.263-264.

Blessed History, in the years after he first wrote it.[46] Despite his modifications to the text, we have no evidence of Rashīd al-Dīn himself being involved in a collation of earlier versions as late as 1314, by which time his scholarly activities were focused on theology. However, the fact that several versions of the text existed by that point may have inspired scholars working in Baghdad to undertake a collation on their own initiative.

Exhibit C: The Khwāfī recension and the ghost colophon

The colophon at the end of the 1317 Baghdad manuscript is mirrored in a sub-recension of the *Blessed History* characterised by a set of additions made by Rashīd Khwāfī, father of the copyist of the Baghdad manuscript.[47] Khwāfī is known as the copyist of a manuscript of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juvaynī's *History of the World Conqueror* (*Tārīkh-i jahān-gushā*) dated December 1290 (Paris, BnF, supp. pers. 205), and many of his additions to the *Blessed History* concern the lives of the Juvaynī brothers ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the *ṣāḥib diwān* Shams al-Dīn. In several places he signs his additions, referring to himself by name or as "the scribe of this blessed book" (*nāsukh-i īn kitab-i mubārak*).

The version of the *Blessed History* that Rashīd Khwāfī modified was nearly identical to the copy made in Baghdad in 1317, and it is likely that father and son worked from the same source manuscript. It included the story of the abduction of Hambaqai Khan, which is mentioned above as one of the few differences between the Baghdad and Tashkent manuscripts. In fact, this story has survived only in the Baghdad manuscript and copies of the Khwāfī recension. However, Khwāfī's exemplar also included several of the short passages of text found in the Tashkent copy that are missing from the Baghdad manuscript. It therefore was not copied directly from either manuscript, but probably shared an exemplar with the Baghdad manuscript and possibly also with the Tashkent manuscript.

Three copies of the Khwāfī recension survive. Two of these (Vienna, ÖNB, MS Mixt. 326; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Elliot 377) are from the 15th and 16th centuries, the latter dated 944 AH (1537-1538 CE). They share three large internal lacunae, but they each contain smaller lacunae not found in the other, suggesting a shared defective source. The third copy (London, BL, MS Add. 16688) seems to be very early, perhaps from the Ilkhanid period. It is remarkable, beyond its early date and its inclusion of Rashīd Khwāfi's added notes, for the fact that it preserves a colophon based on the one also found in the Baghdad manuscript of 1317. As with that colophon, this one praises Rashīd al-Dīn, describes the structure of the *Collected Histories*, and then explains that the author has included the contents of the second volume at the end of the current manuscript for the benefit of those who do not have access to both. The colophon is followed by over three pages of text about the accession of Öljeitü, extending the text by nine lines more than the Baghdad manuscript.

Two significant changes have been made to this colophon when compared to the Baghdad manuscript. (The text of these colophon variants is included as an appendix at the end of this

46 Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 121-153.

47 The "Khwāfī recension" is described by Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 143-146, and catalogued at pp. 228-230 as the κ recension.

article.) First, credit for including the history of Öljeitü is claimed by "Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, known as Rashīd Khwāfī, who is the scribe of this blessed book". Second, this version of the colophon expands the description of the contents of the *Collected Histories* to include the gazetteer of the third volume. These changes seem to have been made at two separate times. The first undoubtedly belongs to Rashīd Khwāfī, who identifies himself by his signature phrase. The second change – the expansion of the description of the *Collected Histories* – is out of keeping with the rest of the colophon, which focuses on the relationship between the first and second volumes of the work. This change was probably made when the first and last pages of the manuscript were recopied by Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Ḥassan in October 1524 presumably because they had been damaged. In doing so, Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir probably referred to the description of the *Collected Histories* found in the work's general introduction, clumsily inserting the three-volume structure described there into a colophon otherwise concerned only with the first two volumes. It was probably also Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir, then, who introduced other minor errors into the colophon as he recopied it.[48]

Somehow, Rashīd Khwāfī's version of the colophon without Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir's modification – taking credit for appending the history of Öljeitü's accession but still describing the *Collected Histories* as a two-volume work – appears in the Aga Khan copy of the *Blessed History*. Strangely, neither this manuscript nor the manuscript in Tashkent from which it was copied contain Rashīd Khwāfī's additions to the text. How the colophon in Rashīd Khwāfī's name came to be added to the Aga Khan manuscript remains a mystery, especially since the end of the Tashkent manuscript is missing. However, it seems to be even more correct than what is found in the Baghdad manuscript, and may – with the exception of Rashīd Khwāfī's arrogation of credit – accurately reflect the wording of a shared source, presumably the copy from which father and son made their copies at different times.

The Baghdad Ghāzāniyya as a centre of Rashīdī manuscript production

Bringing this evidence together, the most likely scenario to explain the formal similarities but textual variances between the Tashkent copy of the *Blessed History* and the manuscript copied in Baghdad in 1317 is that, in the last years of Rashīd al-Dīn's life, the Ghāzāniyya complex in the north of Baghdad undertook a programme of reproducing his works inspired by his instructions in the endowment deed and influenced by a local effort to create a new collation of the extant versions. The Tashkent copy of the *Blessed History* may have been produced in Tabriz and sent to Baghdad to be used as an exemplar, in which case it was dispatched without any illustrations. More likely is that it was an early Baghdadi copy of an exemplar that has not survived, or perhaps a copy made in a different city from a different exemplar under very strict copy control.

In 1314 or 1315, when Ibn al-Fuwaṭī worked with Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī on the collation of the *Collected Histories*, they may have inserted some new material, including the story of the abduction of Hambaqai Khan that does not seem to have made it into the copy now in Tashkent. However, as this collated version went into production, the workers of the

48 My thanks to Florian Schwarz for helping me tease apart the likely relationship between these colophons.

scriptorium made adjustments to the format of surrounding pages to keep the new copy in sync with its exemplar, whether that was the Tashkent manuscript itself or an unknown third manuscript. It may also have been at this point that the collation team in Baghdad created a new standard colophon for their edition. In it, they explain the inclusion of the brief history of Öljeitü's accession as an accommodation for the challenge of finding the full history of Öljeitü in the second volume (which may have never existed, after all!), not recognising that the table of contents of the *Collected Histories* actually calls for just such a short account of the accession (as a *tārīkh*, not a full *dāstān*). This standard colophon was left without a date or copyist's name, intended instead as a form to be filled in as copies were made. At some point, Rashīd Khwāfī copied this text, adding a series of anecdotes and reshaping the colophon to emphasise his role in preparing the text. In 1317, his son Mubārakshāh again copied the Baghdad exemplar, creating the manuscript now kept in Istanbul.

The presence of a Baghdad scriptorium producing a version of the *Collected Histories* edited by scholars outside of Rashīd al-Dīn's direct supervision also helps explain the state of the earliest Persian copy of the world history – also dated to 1317 – described above as having the same written dimensions as the Baghdad copy of the *Blessed History*. Those who have connected this manuscript (Istanbul, TSM, MS H.1654) to the Rashīdī quarter in Tabriz point to its few original images as evidence that it was incomplete at the time of Rashīd al-Dīn's death but somehow survived the sacking of the endowed district. If, based on its format, we instead attribute this manuscript to a regional scriptorium such as the Ghāzāniyya in Baghdad, then it would have had an easier time surviving the period of turmoil surrounding Rashīd al-Dīn's death. Even if the Baghdad scriptorium was part of Rashīd al-Dīn's madrasa, its incorporation into the larger complex associated with the late great Ghāzān Khān would have provided cover for it to survive the violence elsewhere visited on Rashīd al-Dīn's property.

This scenario might also explain another peculiarity of manuscript H.1654, which is missing the sections on the Salghurids and the Ismāʿīlīs found in other copies of the world history but includes Rashīd al-Dīn's treatise against the philosophy of transubstantiation at the end of the section on India. Elsewhere I have speculated that Rashīd al-Dīn himself may have introduced these changes.[49] However, such an interpretation assumes that he continued editing the *Collected History* long after switching his intellectual work to theology. If instead manuscript H.1654 is the product of a scriptorium operating semi-independently of Rashīd al-Dīn, these changes may represent a local decision or circumstance. Indeed, the colophon on fol. 350a of H.1654 includes a note mentioning that a group of pages had been removed from the book. The fact that the colophon frame is formatted to include this note suggests that it already appeared in the source manuscript from which it was copied. It is likely, then, that an original Rashīdī manuscript, sent to Baghdad or another local scriptorium, lost the sections on the Salghurids and Ismāʿīlīs – either by design or by accident – and then was copied in its altered form to create manuscript H.1654. Since the latter became one of the most copied manuscripts of the world history in later centuries, that decision has significantly shaped the reception of Rashīd al-Dīn's work.

49 Kamola, Salghurid history, 139-141.

At all phases of its early production, the *Collected Histories* of Rashīd al-Dīn was beset by a fundamental discrepancy between modification and standardisation. As he wrote the *Blessed History*, Rashīd al-Dīn included headers inviting additions of text as new information became available. However, later in his life he devised a strict reproduction scheme for copying his works and checking them against their exemplars. Even then, however, the work's evolution continued. Here we have revisited the evidence from manuscripts and other witnesses to suggest that a group of scholars, possibly including Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī, and the scribes Rashīd Khwāfī and his son, edited and altered the text in Baghdad, in the scriptorium of the Ghāzāniyya complex but away from the direct oversight of its supervisor Rashīd al-Dīn. The modifications to and interpretations of the text made in Baghdad in the decade after the *Collected Histories* was completed helped set the trajectory of its reception for the following seven centuries.

Appendix: Persian text of manuscript colophons

Below are three related colophons discussed in previous pages. They all seem to descend from a standardised colophon added to an exemplar of the text made in Baghdad, with spaces left for the specific date and name of copyist of copies made from it. The first is from the copy made in Baghdad in 1317 by Mubārakshāh b. Rashīd Khwāfī. The second reflects Rashīd Khwāfī's intervention, though it is inexplicably included at the end of a manuscript that does not include the additions he made to the text. The third is from a copy of Rashīd Khwāfī's sub-recension, with later modifications made by Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Ḥassan in October 1524.

Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Müzesi, MS R.1518, fol. 342b

مودخم جهانیان آصف عهد مصنف این کتاب که موسوم است به تاریخ مبارک غازانی به نام سلطان سعید مغفور مرحوم غازان خان انارالله برهانه ساخته و به نام پادشاه وقت سلطان سلاطین الارض مشارقها و مغاربها مجلدی دیگر ساخته است که موسوم است به تاریخ عالم و آن مجملی است از عهد آدم تا اکنون و تاریخ و حکایات این پادشاه وقت که تا قیام ساعت پاینده و مستدام باد از ابتدای ولادت او تا منتها که جاوید خواهد بود ذیل آن کتاب باشد و اما چون هر کس را دست رس آن نباشد که این هر دو مجلد باعظمت را بنویسد آگر آن را نویسند خود مصنف عز نصره داخل آن کرده است و اگر کسی این مجلد نویسد و خواهد که داخل این کند یمکن که بدین گستاخی ذیل عفو و اغماض پوشانند.

تمام شد این کتاب مبارک در آخر ماه شعبان سنع سبع عشر و سبع مائه هلالیه به مقام بغداد حماها الله تعالی

The Lord of the Worlds, the Āṣif of the Age, the author of this book which is known as the *Blessed History of Ghāzān*, made it in the name of the late deceased lord Sultan Ghāzān Khān – may God illuminate his memory. And a second volume was made in the name of the current Pādishāh, the Sultan of Sultans of the world east and west, which is known as the *World History* and which is a compendium from the time of Adam until now. And the history and account of this current Pādishāh – may he be lasting and constant until the coming of the final hour – from the beginning of his birth to the favours of his immortality, was an addendum [*dhayl*] to that book. But as that which is written in these two great volumes is not available to everyone, if they should copy it themselves, the author – may his victory be glorious – has included that [*dākhel-e ān karde*], and if someone should copy this volume and should want to include this [*dākhel-e in konad*], may they cover this hubris with an addendum [*dhayl*] of forgiveness and tolerance.

This blessed book was finished at the end of the month of Shaʿbān, in the lunar year 717 in Baghdad, may God Almighty protect her.

Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, MS AKM 517, fol. 344b

مخدوم جهانیان آصف عهد مصنف این کتاب که موسوم است بتاریخ مبارک غازانی عصر بنام سلطان سعید مغفور مرحوم غازان خان انارالله برهانه ساخته و بنام پادشاه وقت سلطان سلاطین الارض مشارقها و مغاربها مجلدی دیگر ساخته است که موسومست بتاریخ عالم و آن مجملیست از عهد آدم تا اکنون و تاریخ و حکایات این پادشاه وقت که تا قیام ساعت پاینده و مستدام باد از ابتدای ولادت او تا منتها که جاوید خواهد بود ذیل آن کتاب باشد و اما چون هر کس را دست رس آن نباشد که این هر دو مجلد باعظمت را بنویسد آگر آن را نویسند خود مصنف عز نصره داخل آن کرده است و اگر کسی این مجلد نویسد و خواهد که داخل این کند یمکن که بدین گستاخی ذیل عفو و اغماض پوشانند.

این بنده دولت محمد بن حمره معروف برشید خوافی که ناسخ این کتاب مبارکست آنرا ذیل این کتاب خواهد ساخت بعد ازین نوشته شود انشاءالله تعالی

The Lord of the Worlds, the Āṣif of the Age, the author of this book which is known as the *Blessed History of Ghāzān* – may his victory be glorious – made it in the name of the late deceased lord Sultan Ghāzān Khān – may God illuminate his memory. And a second volume was made in the name of the current Pādishāh, the Sultan of Sultans of the world east and west, which is known as the *World History* and which is a compendium from the time of Adam until now. And the history and account of this current Pādishāh, may he be perpetual until the arrival of the final hour, from the beginning of his birth to the favours of his immortality, was an addendum to that book. But as that which is written in these two great volumes is not available to everyone, if they should copy it themselves, the author – may his victory be glorious – has included it, and if someone should copy this volume and should want to include this, may they forgive and tolerate this hubris.

This servant of the state, Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, known as Rashīd Khwāfī, who is the writer of this blessed book, will attach that addendum after this is written, *inshāʾallāh*.

London, British Library, MS Add. 16688, fol. 291a-b

مخدوم جهانیان آصف عهد مصنف این کتاب مبارک عزنصره که موسوم است بتاریخ مبارک غازانی این مجلد را بنام سلطان سعید مغفور مرحوم غازان خان انارالله برهانه ساخته و بنام پادشاه وقت سلطان سعید ظل الله تعالی سلطان الجایتو خلد ملکه مجلدی دیگر ساخته است که موسوم است بتاریخ عالم و آن مجملیست از عهد آدم تا اکنون و تاریخ و حکایات این پادشاه وقت از ابتدای ولادت او تا منتها که خواهد بود یک تاریخ عالم باشد. و ان خود مجلدی تمام چون بغایت باعظمتست هر کسی را دست رس آن نه که این سه مجلد جامع التواریخ را بنویسد. و اسامی مجلد ان اینس

اول	دوم	سیوم
ین تاریخ مبارک غازانی	تاریخ عالم بنام اولجایتو سلطان	صورالاقالیم و مالک الممالک و مسافات

اگر کسی خواهد که تاریخ عالم نویسد خود تاریخ اولجایتو سلطان داخل است و اگر کسی این مجلد نویسد اگر خواهد پادشاهی اولجایتو سلطان و هر که بعد از و باشد ذیل این می توان کرد این بنده دولت محمد بن حمره معروف برشید خوافی که ناسخ این کتاب مبارکست انرا ذیل این کتاب خواهد ساخت یمکن که بدین کستاخی عفو فرماید و ان بعد ازین نوشته شود ان شاءالله تعالی تمام شد تا غایه اخر عهد سلطان اسلام سعید مغفور مرحوم غازان خان طاب ثره والله اعلم

The Lord of the Worlds, the Āṣif of the Age, the author of this blessed book – may his victory be glorious – which is known as the *Blessed History of Ghāzān*, made this volume in the name of the late deceased lord Sultan Ghāzān Khān – may God illuminate his memory, and another volume in the name of the current Pādishāh, the shadow of God Almighty, Sultan Öljeitü – may his reign be perpetual – which is known as the *World History* and which is a compendium from the time of Adam until now and the history and account of this current Pādishāh, from the beginning of his birth to what will come would be as one history of the world. And since that complete volume by itself is so great, it is not available to everyone who might copy this three-volume *Collected Histories*. And the names of its volumes are as follows:

First	Second	Third
This *Blessed History of Ghāzān*	The *History of the World* in the name of Öljeitü Sultan	The *Image of the World and Routes of Kingdoms and Distances*

If someone wants to copy the world history, the history of Öljeitü Sultan is included, and if someone who copies this volume wants to be able to include here the Pādishāh Öljeitü Sultan and everything after him, this servant of the state, Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, known as Rashīd Khwāfī, who is the writer of this blessed book, will attach that *dhayl*, may he forgive and tolerate this hubris, and it will be written after this, *inshāʾallāh taʿālā*. It was completed up to the end of the time of the Sultan of Islam, the late deceased lord Ghāzān Khān, may he rest in peace. And God knows best.

Acknowledgements

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Figure 1. Hypothetical reconstruction of the opening folios of the *Blessed History*

Figure 2. Reconstructed foliation of prototype ζ-recension manuscript

Hadith scholarship in Mongol Baghdad: al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*

Stefanie Brinkmann*

This article presents Baghdad as a site of Sunni hadith scholarship, and demonstrates its continuity under Mongol-Ilkhanid rule, both in known institutions such as the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa or the Caliphal Mosque, as well as in private homes. This ongoing hadith scholarship is exemplified by the *muḥaddith* Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 750 AH/1349 CE in Baghdad) and his transmission and teaching of al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) post-canonical hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*. To this end, the article analyses and compares two sources: first, al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, i.e., his personal collection of books studied and the authoritative lines of transmission (*riwāyāt*) for them; and second, audition and reading certificates (*samāʿāt*, *qirāʾāt*) preserved in two Mongol-era manuscripts with the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* as the main text. Both sources illustrate al-Qazwīnī's networks within Baghdad, but also with scholars from Mamluk Damascus, a network that included mainly Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī scholars, and provides evidence for the central role of the two Sufi figures ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168) and his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) for the transmission of al-Baghawī's works from Khurasan to Baghdad. While both sources provide references to the networks, the audition and reading certificates bring to life hadith sessions in which two people recite the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* with the aforementioned manuscripts in front of al-Qazwīnī while he compares the text with his own private manuscript, thus allowing us to experience the teaching of hadith in Mongol Baghdad.

Keywords: Baghdad, Mongol, al-Qazwīnī, hadith, mashyakha, samāʿ, qirāʾa, riwāyāt

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Figure 1: The end of al-Baghawī's hadith collection Maṣābīḥ al-sunna *with colophon (fol. 241v), and the reading certificate (*qirāʾa*) issued by al-Qazwīnī in his own hand (fol. 242r). MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.*

In the winter of 734 AH/1333-1334 CE, over the course of about four months,[1] the entire hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* of al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122) was read aloud in a number of sessions in the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa, the Caliphal Mosque, in Baghdad. These meetings were conducted by Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 750/1349 in Baghdad), who, born in Qazwīn and educated in Wāsiṭ, was a well-known hadith scholar in Baghdad. The Caliphal Mosque had been built more than three centuries before these reading sessions, on the eastern side of the Tigris, by the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafī bi-llāh (ruled 289-295/902-908). Even though other dynasties exercised political power in Baghdad during the following few centuries, the Abbasid caliph and Baghdad remained the religious center for the Muslim community worldwide.

By al-Qazwīnī's time, things had changed dramatically. In 1258, Baghdad was conquered by the Mongols, who put an end to the Baghdad-based Abbasid caliphate, establishing what was at least initially non-Muslim rule at the very heart of the Islamic world. By the time

1 The dates given are from Saturday 24 Rabīʿ I to 5 Rajab 734, that is 4 December (or possibly late November) 1333 to 13 March 1334. Note that 24 Rabīʿ I corresponds to Friday 3 December; we assume that the weekday is correct and the Hijra date off because of a delayed observation of the lunar crescent.

al-Qazwīnī conducted the reading sessions in the Caliphal Mosque some seventy-five years after the Mongol invasion, the Mongol-Ilkhanid dynasty had changed the cultural and political imprint of the region, creating a Turco-Iranian culture in art and sciences, and a merged pattern of nomadic and sedentary culture.

This article aims to present al-Qazwīnī as one example for the continuation of hadith scholarship during Mongol rule. More specifically, it presents al-Qazwīnī as a transmitter and teacher of works by the legal Shāfiʿī scholar and *muḥaddith* al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), who was active in Marw al-Rūdh, east of Herat, in the Seljuq period.

First, hadith scholarship and al-Qazwīnī's life in Mongol Baghdad will be presented. The article will then zoom in on two types of sources for al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's works, and particularly his hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*: first, al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*; and second *qirāʾa* and *samāʿ* entries (audition and reading notes) with his own *riwāyāt* (lines of transmission) registered in two manuscripts, both copied in the Mongol period.

The transmission of hadith has always been very much grounded in oral teaching, despite written texts. Many of these practices of transmission were formulated during the first centuries of Islam, with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rām[a]hurmuzī, also known as Ibn al-Khallād (d. before 360/971), and his al-*Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil* as an early key contribution to this field. Most valued was the hearing (*samāʿ*) of hadith. A shaykh would read individual hadiths, or an entire compilation, to an audience. Such sessions of audition (*samāʿāt*) could be noted within the manuscripts used for the session; for example, after chapters, or after the colophon, or on extra sheets of paper. These entries usually name the shaykh, the text read, the audience (or an individual listener), the date, and the place. An alternative scenario is when a student, or colleague, would read the relevant text aloud in front of the teacher (*qirāʾa*). In these cases, the documentary entry would also state the reader's name and the text recited. In some instances, a shaykh could specifically transfer the authority to transmit, or teach, the relevant text to the student or colleague (*ijāzat al-riwāya*, *ijāzat al-tadrīs*). Within these entries, the shaykh could also add his own authoritative lines of transmission for the relevant work (*riwāya*). That is, the transmission from the author of the work through a chain of transmitters covering decades, or centuries, to the scholar him- or herself. In our case, 14th century al-Qazwīnī added his *riwāyāt* in the *samāʿāt/qirāʾāt* preserved in the two Mongol manuscripts that connect him via generations of scholars back to the 12th-century author al-Baghawī.

Such *riwāyāt*, in return, were at times collected by scholars, or a student of theirs, as a kind of personal book that included their teachers and the works studied with them: their *mashyakha*.[2] All of these documents are a treasure trove for the reconstruction of teaching practices, the circulation of texts, the social formation of the audiences, and networks of scholars.

In his own *Mashyakha*, al-Qazwīnī listed all the works and hadiths he had studied with his lines of transmission (*riwāyāt*). While the *Mashyakha* helps us above all to reconstruct al-Qazwīnī's networks, the *qirāʾa* and *samāʿ* entries allow us in addition to glimpse his teaching activity in Mongol Baghdad.

2 The *mashyakha* is also called, at times with regional differences, *thabat*, *fihrist*, or *barnāmij*. On the practices of transmission and their impact, see Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*.

Tracing hadith transmission and teaching in the Mongol period is of importance in two respects. First, I know of no study dedicated specifically to Sunni hadith scholarship in this period and region. Research on hadith in Iran, or the wider Persianate region, usually concentrates either on the formative period up to the Seljuqs and the establishment of the madrasas in Khurasan in the 11th and early 12th centuries, or on Shiʿi scholarship (Twelver Shiʿi and Zaydī traditions alike). Research on Sunni hadith in the decades and centuries between the formative period and the Shiʿitization of Iran under the Safawid dynasty from the 16th century on, when Iran was still dominantly Sunni, is clearly neglected. Second, the dominant narrative that the Mongol invasion was of a purely destructive nature leading to a break in political, cultural, and intellectual terms evokes the misleading image of a void in hadith scholarship of this period.[3] To state that there was some continuity in hadith scholarship under Mongol and post-Mongol rule neither neglects the destruction of infrastructure nor the very real moving of scholars further to the west, to the Mamluk Empire, for example. But it does demand that we come to a more balanced picture of processes that involved both continuity and change.[4]

Baghdad and hadith scholarship

We have only begun to understand the real impact that the Mongol conquest of Baghdad had, the extent of destruction versus the sparing of infrastructure, the escape of Muslim scholars versus a continuity of scholarship and the coming of patronage, and the shock and awe in the Muslim population facing the end of the Abbasid caliphate versus pragmatic solutions for dealing with the new rulers.

What seems clear is that the once blossoming hadith scholarship in the eastern part of the Islamic Empire, with the cities of Khurasan as sought-after destinations for scholars of the entire empire, lost its pre-eminence due to the Mongol invasion. The massive destruction in this region, above all during the first Mongol invasion in the 1220s, together with the shift of patronage to the west, caused many scholars to move westwards. Hence, over time the major activities in hadith scholarship relocated to the territories stretching from Iraq to Egypt and Anatolia. In Iraq, Baghdad was the focal point of hadith scholarship. Regardless of destruction, partial destruction, spared infrastructure, or restoration after destruction, scholarly life continued or returned to Baghdadi institutions during and after the Mongol invasion.[5] A number of the famous pre-Mongol institutions were spared from destruction, or restored soon after the siege of Baghdad, and still functioned as places of scholarship. Key among these educational institutions were the Mustanṣiriyya, the Niẓāmiyya, and the Bashīriyya

3 N. Maʿrūf's study on the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, including during the Mongol period, documents the vivid hadith scholarship in Baghdad in the Mongol and post-Mongol period (up to Timur's invasions); see Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*.

4 For the general issue of continuity and change in the Mongol period, see De Nicola and Melville, *The Mongols' Middle East*.

5 See Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge; Arjomand, The law, especially 271-274; Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 194-242 (hadith scholarship) and 219, fn. 94 (short biography of al-Qazwīnī); Biran, Baghdād under Mongol rule; Günther, Knowledge and learning in Baghdād.

madrasas. Despite receiving some damage during the siege of Baghdad, the Mustanṣiriyya and the Niẓāmiyya madrasas re-opened again soon after, and remained cultural centers of the city;[6] and we will see that the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa and the Caliphal Mosque played a central role in al-Qazwīnī's transmission and teaching of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*. In addition, the Mongols themselves built educational institutions, including madrasas and institutions for the study of Qurʾan and hadith such as the Madrasa al-ʿIṣmatiyya (built in 671/1272), in which all four legal schools (*madhāhib*) were taught. It is not yet entirely clear what effect the conversion to Islam of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazān Khān (r. 1295-1304) had on Muslim scholarship as compared to the decades before.[7] It is certain, though, that the patronage for religious scholars, the *ʿulamāʾ*, the restoration of old buildings, and new building activity had begun before this date. In general, the *ʿulamāʾ* kept their high-ranking positions during the Mongol period, and the Mongols exercised patronage with the aim of encouraging cultural production. Al-Qazwīnī might be seen as representative for this hadith scholarship during the Mongol period. His wide ranging network, his continuous teaching, and his affiliation to known Baghdadi institutions exemplify that hadith scholarship in Baghdad did not cease to exist because of the Mongol invasion, but that it was a thriving factor in the city instead.

In political terms, though, Baghdad lost part of its political centrality under Mongol rule. Not only did the Mongols maintain, to a certain degree, their nomadic lifestyle, they also shifted their attention away from the previous symbolic center of gravity for the Islamicate world to other regions much more suitable and beneficial for their way of life: the rich pastures of Adharbayjan. Apart from the short periods in which Maragha and Sultaniyya functioned as capitals, it was Tabriz, established as the Ilkhanid capital by Abaqa, that became the central spot for patronage; under Ilkhanid rule, but also during the post-Mongol 14th century, this city flourished, with an enormous building boom, patronage for artists and scholars, and an outstanding prosperity due to its role as a city of trade and important hub on the east-west route from China via Iran to Europe. Even though Tabriz faced economic and political crises at times, and even though it never had the central role that Baghdad had held as the capital, because of the general decentralized rule of the Mongols,[8] it was the most important city in this period.[9] The importance of Tabriz is also reflected in the commentarial activity on al-Baghawī's hadith collection *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*: although the most influential commentaries were produced in Shiraz, and Baghdad remained a city of hadith scholarship, the largest number of commentaries were written in Adharbayjan, particularly in Tabriz. Despite this quantitative dominance of commentaries composed in Tabriz (and other

6 Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 11-12. Hülegü himself is said to have initiated restoration works on, e.g., the Dār al-Khilāfa and its mosque, so that scholarly activity came back to the madrasas and ribāṭs; see ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī's preface to al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, 9. See also Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 467-481.

7 On his conversion, see Amitai-Preiss, Ghazan, Islam and Mongol tradition; Melville, Pādshāh-i Islam.

8 Pfeifer, *Politics*.

9 Despite periodic political unrest and times of economic distress, it was another danger that hit Tabriz and killed thousands of its population in the 14th century: the plague, attested at the latest by 1346, with recurring waves in the decades after.

places in Adharbayjan), though, many of these works have been badly preserved in only a few manuscripts (if at all).

Biography of al-Qazwīnī

Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Khalīl al-Qazwīnī was a scholar trained in many fields, but best known in Iraq as an eminent hadith scholar (*muḥaddith*).[10] He was born in Rabīʿ II 683 (1284 CE) in Qazwīn, studied for a while in Wāsiṭ, and had settled by the year 700/1300-1301 in Baghdad, where he was active as a Shāfiʿī scholar.[11] Al-Qazwīnī was thus a younger contemporary of the well-known Baghdadi librarian, historian, and biographer Ibn Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323). Al-Qazwīnī most likely died in Baghdad in 749 or 750 AH (1349 CE),[12] and his tomb was built in the eastern part of Baghdad, the al-Maʾmūniyya quarter. However, in his *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Ibn al-ʿImād says that al-Qazwīnī died during the pilgrimage and was buried in the Ḥijāz.[13] From a *qirāʾa* entry in one of the manuscripts discussed in this article, we learn that al-Qazwīnī also lived in al-Maʾmūniyya, and that he taught al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* there, in his private home.[14]

Al-Qazwīnī is said to have had three children, but only one of them is known by name, Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī, who himself was imam at the Friday Mosque in Baghdad and who died in 775/1354. That all three children attended lectures with their father becomes evident from al-Qazwīnī's preface to his *Mashyakha*, where he says that he wrote this work in two volumes, and lists all of his shuyūkh as well as the shuyūkh of his children, since they accompanied him in most of the sessions for transmission with *ijāza* and *samāʿ*.[15]

Al-Qazwīnī spent his entire life under Mongol rule. His lifespan thus encompasses the rules of Arghūn Khān (1284-1291), Gaykhatu (1291-March or April 1295), Baydu (March or April 1295-Oct 1295), Ghazān Khān (1295-1304), Öljaytü (1304-1316), and Abū Saʿīd (1316-1335). He witnessed the much contested period of rule of Arpa Khān (1335-1336), and the brief interim rule of Arpa's wife Sati Beg (1338-1339). The last years of al-Qazwīnī's life were lived in the chaotic decades marked by the power campaigns and localized reigns of the Jalayirids, Čupānids, Muẓaffarids, Injuids, Sarbadārifs, and Karts (Kurts). As al-Qazwīnī

10 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 56-57.

11 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278, lists him as a Ḥanbalī scholar, possibly due to his close contacts to Ḥanbalī scholars in Damascus, or indicating a shifting affiliation.

12 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 56-57; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. 7, ed. Maktabat al-Muthannā, 300; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāya*, vol. 1, ed. Bergstraesser, 525; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 3, unknown editor, 180, states that al-Qazwīnī died in Dhū l-Qaʿda 749 AH on the pilgrimage; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278, also states that al-Qazwīnī died on the pilgrimage, specifying the date as 11 Dhū l-Qaʿda 749/1349. In Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1480, the date of death is given as 745/1344-45.

13 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278.

14 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 300r and 302r.

15 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 85 ("adhkuru fīhā jamīʿa shuyūkhī wa-shuyūkhi awlādī idh shārakūnī fī akthari marwiyyātī ijāzatan wa-samāʿan").

lived in Baghdad, he spent this period primarily under Jalayirid rule. Only after al-Qazwīnī's death were these reigns radically swept away by Timur's forces at the end of the 14th century.

That al-Qazwīnī was an acknowledged and respected scholar is evident from the places where he studied and taught, and the positions he held. He studied and taught at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, the Bashīriyya madrasa (west Baghdad), the Thiqatiyya madrasa at the Bāb al-Azajj (today the Bāb al-Shaykh, in east Baghdad), and the Zumurrud Khātūn madrasa.[16] He was an imam and preacher at the Caliphal Mosque, and was assigned as a judge. Later in his life, he was apparently also involved as a political mediator for the Jalayirid Ḥasan Buzurg.[17]

Ibn Ḥajar reports that al-Qazwīnī studied hadith in Baghdad with Ismaʿīl b. al-Ṭibāl, the then *shaykh al-ḥadīth* at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa; with Ismaʿīl's successor, ʿAlī b. Abī l-Qāsim; and with ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Ibn al-Kharrāṭ [Ibn] al-Dawālībī.[18] He performed the pilgrimage several times and traveled to Damascus, conversing there with a number of Ḥanbalī scholars, among them the known traditionist, theologist, and jurist Ibn Taymiyya.[19] These contacts with and journeys to visit scholars in Damascus are remarkable insofar as the Mamluks and the Mongols were political adversaries. Ibn Taymiyya had issued controversial jihād fatwas against the Mongols, by then controlled by Ghazān Khān and nominally Muslims, in the context of their offensives in the Levant, and he also participated in the battle of Marj al-Ṣaffār in 702/1303 that put an end to Mongol expansion in that region.

In his *Mashyakha*, al-Qazwīnī mentions sixty-five shuyūkh who were his transmitters. These scholars primarily represent the Shāfiʿī, Ḥanafī, and Ḥanbalī schools, and they come mainly from Iran, Iraq, and Syria. This range can also be observed in terms of the transmitters of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, as presented below. Among al-Qazwīnī's students were the known travel writer Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1369), who heard al-Dārimī's *Musnad* from al-Qazwīnī in the Caliphal Mosque of Baghdad in the year 727 AH (1326 or 1327 CE), and the lexicographer al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415).

Al-Qazwīnī was trained in the fields of Qurʾan, hadith, law (*fiqh*), Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), history (*tārīkh*), literature (*adab*), and language (*naḥw* and *lugha*) – most of these subjects embodying the typical "canon" of a well-educated scholar. In his *Mashyakha*, he himself states that he had published on Qurʾan, hadith, *fiqh*, *tārīkh*, and *taṣawwuf*.[20] Unfortunately, only a few titles are known to us today. Best known is his own *Mashyakha* (see below), which is often the only work listed in a number of reference works.[21] The editor of the *Mashyakha*

16 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, preface, 18; Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 219 (fol. 94).

17 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, preface 18-19.

18 On this last and his activity at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, see Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 220-226.

19 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 3, unknown editor, 180 (no. 424); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278.

20 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 81.

21 Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. 7, ed. Maktabat al-Muthannā, 300; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 56-57. This work is titled in both reference works as *al-Fihrist*, which is simply another term for *mashyakha* (and, to a certain extent, *thabat*, or *barnāmij*).

names a *takhrīj* volume and a "Forty hadith" collection (*arbaʿūn*).[22] There is a commentary (*ḥāshiya*) on al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* attributed to him.[23] And finally, we know about his treatise on weak hadiths in al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, called *al-Aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa al-wāqiʿa fī kitāb Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna*, although only two manuscripts of this work are known today.[24] Importantly, this provides evidence that al-Qazwīnī engaged in the study of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* beyond merely orally transmitting its text.

In his own publications, but also for those works he studied and transmitted, al-Qazwīnī attached importance to the fact that these works were all in accordance with Sunni Islam (*ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa*), avoiding works from other Islamic schools (such as the Shiʿa). In the context of his transmission of al-Zamakhsharī, who was a Muʿtazilī, he stressed that he would only transmit those texts from al-Zamakhsharī that did not contradict Sunni dogma.[25] In terms of legal affiliation, both al-Baghawī and al-Qazwīnī were Shāfiʿīs.[26] Normally, we might then tend to assign al-Qazwīnī's commentarial work on al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* somehow to his legal affiliation. But, in fact, among the *transmitters* of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, we encounter – as well as Shāfiʿīs – a substantial number of Ḥanbalīs, although hardly any Ḥanafīs (or Mālikīs); among the *commentators* on al-Baghawī's hadith works, in contrast, we find – apart from the Shāfiʿīs – a number of Ḥanafīs, but seldom any Ḥanbalīs (and only one Mālikī commentator).[27] This illustrates that the legal boundaries were at times somewhat fluid, and that networks of legal affiliation could be determined by geographical conditions rather than ideology.

From Khurasan to Baghdad: The main paths of al-Baghawī's transmission from east to west

Before directing the spotlight onto al-Qazwīnī's Ilkhanid Baghdad, we need to go back in time and move eastwards to where al-Baghawī lived roughly two hundred years before al-Qazwīnī transmitted his works in Baghdad. The main objective of this is to show the geographical pattern of the transmission of al-Baghawī's work in general, and his *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in particular.

The Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [b.] al-Farrāʾ[28] al-Baghawī, Muḥyi al-Dīn[29] wrote his works in the fields of hadith, *fiqh*, and Qurʾan during the Seljuq period in Khurasan. He was mainly active in a minor city, Marw al-Rūdh, north-

22 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, preface, 19-20. The *takhrīj* volume is said to refer to hadiths transmitted by Najm al-Dīn al-Rabaʿī al-Baghdādī (d. 661/1262-1263). The Forty hadith collection is attested in one manuscript at the National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in Cairo.

23 This work is not mentioned in the edition of the *Mashyakha*, but in Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1480.

24 Al-Ḥabashī, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ*, vol. 3, 1719. Both are kept today in the Timuriyya Library. Unfortunately, I have not yet had access to these manuscripts.

25 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 533-534.

26 Recalling, though, that Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 278, mentions al-Qazwīnī as a Ḥanbalī scholar.

27 Brinkmann, *Commentary Tradition* [forthcoming].

28 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 19, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 439, has "b. al-Farrāʾ".

29 Also: Rukn al-Dīn; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, vol. 2, 136, is the only one that mentions Ẓahīr al-Dīn as a *laqab*.

east of Herat, and died there in 516/1122. Even though al-Baghawī's life seems to have been rather a local one, his works were transmitted to both the east and the west. This also holds true specifically for his hadith compilation *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* – a thematically organized (*muṣannaf*) selection of traditions from the six canonical Sunni collections (*al-kutub al-sitta*) and al-Dārimī's *Sunan*, with truncated *isnāds*.[30] In his preface, al-Baghawī states that he would not refer to weak (*mawḍūʿ*) traditions – this is where al-Qazwīnī's treatise comes in.

The first hub for commentarial activity on the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, as well as for its transmission, in the 12th century was Khurasan, above all the cities of Nishapur and Marw. The second and – in terms of its importance for the production of commentaries – key hub was Shiraz under Salghurid rule, especially under indirect Mongol rule. With the growing importance of Tabriz, the new capital of the Ilkhanids, commentary production on the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* mainly relocated to Adharbayjan in the late 13th and 14th centuries. As mentioned before, Baghdad did not match Adharbayjan in terms of the number of commentaries produced, but we know of two commentarial works produced there in the 14th century, one of which was al-Qazwīnī's treatise on weak hadiths in the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*.[31]

Within the networks of transmission for the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, we can detect some nodes, or key figures. While some transmission paths run via Fārs, there is also a direct connection from Khurasan to Baghdad that functions like a node within the network of al-Qazwīnī; this path of transmission runs through the two Baghdadi scholars ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168) and his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (632/1234).

A manifestation of knowledge and networks: Al-Qazwīnī's Mashyakha

In a *mashyakha*[32], a scholar, or shaykh, would register his teachers and the books studied with them. Sometimes, a *mashyakha* was not collected, or not entirely collected, by the shaykhs themselves, but by another person, such as a student, who wanted to honor the shaykh. *Mashyakhāt* were considered stand-alone books worth of transmission, as we will see later: al-Qazwīnī, for example, had the authority to transmit the *Mashyakha* of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī[33], one of the aforementioned key transmitters in al-Qazwīnī's network.

While *mashyakhāt* could be arranged by the names of scholars (as in the case of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī), others stress the books they have studied with certain scholars. The latter

30 While the highest organizational category in this hadith collection is related to topic, with chapters on faith, prayer, food, divorce, etc., the second principle of structure relates to the reliability of the hadiths: within each thematic chapter, the first section is dedicated to authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) traditions and include traditions from al-Bukhārī and Muslim; the following section on good (*ḥasan*) hadiths selects material from all compilations. Al-Baghawī also at times includes *gharīb* hadiths.

31 There are varying numbers of commentaries on the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* mentioned in reference works, such as in Ḥājjī Khalīfa's 17th century *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol. 2, 1698-1702, or Brockelmann's 19th-20th-century *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementbände I, 620-621. Al-Ḥabashī's reference work on commentary literature, *Jāmiʿ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī*, lists fifty-two commentaries (vol. 3, 1713-1722); Akbaş, *Meṣābīḥu's-Sunne* Şerh Literatürü, has forty commentaries.

32 Hilali and Sublet, Masters' repertoire.

33 Al-Suhrawardī's *Mashyakha* was edited in 1425/2004 by ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī.

is the case with al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*.[34] He organized his *riwāyāt* with the titles of books, or specific hadiths, as highest category of order. Below each title, he gives his lines of transmission. By registering the books he studied and the scholars from whom he received certificates, and by elaborating on the fields of knowledge in which he excels and teaches, he displays the excellence of his knowledge and his high-ranking contacts.

From the detailed preface (*muqaddima*) in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, it becomes clear that he took care of his own *mashyakha*.[35] In a manuscript *qirāʾa* entry discussed below, he also refers to his own *Mashyakha* ("fī mashyakhatī") which implies that (at least this part of) his *Mashyakha* had been compiled and written by him already at the time of the recitation of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, which took place in his private home in east Baghdad in 737/1337.[36]

In al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* and the sessions of audition and reading registered therein, it becomes evident that Qazwīn, Wāsiṭ, and above all Baghdad were the main cities for his life and scholarship. But he also heard and read in other places, such as Damascus, Kufa, and the region of Mecca during his pilgrimages.

The transmission of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī according to his Mashyakha*: The general pattern*

In the following, al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt* for the works of al-Baghawī will be reconstructed in order to map both local patterns and legal affiliation. Al-Qazwīnī himself structures his *riwāyāt* as follows:[37]

- *riwāyāt* given exclusively for the *Sharḥ al-sunna* (yellow lines in Figure 2)
- *riwāyāt* given exclusively for the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* (blue lines in Figure 2)
- *riwāyāt* given exclusively for the joint transmission of both the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* and the *Sharḥ al-sunna* (green lines in Figure 2)
- *riwāyāt* for all works of al-Baghawī

Of the many lines of transmission for all works of al-Baghawī, the only ones that will be analyzed in this article (the red lines in Figure 2) are those that al-Qazwīnī himself noted down in his reading notes in the two manuscripts Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184; the remaining *riwāyāt* will only be summarized for comparative reasons. Al-Qazwīnī's decision to specifically mention these selected *riwāyāt* in his *qirāʾa* entries relates either to the extreme importance he attached to these lines or to the historical moments when the scholarly contacts took place. The scholarly formation of the audiences of these two reading sessions registered in Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184 might also have played a role.

34 Al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* was edited in 1426/2005 by ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī.

35 See the editor ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī in his preface to the *Mashyakha*, 64-65; and al-Qazwīnī in his own introduction (*muqaddima*), 80-88.

36 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fol. 301v.

37 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 319-325.

From a chronological perspective, we can roughly classify three layers or generations of transmitters: the first from the 12th and early 13th century, the second from the 13th century, and the third from the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century.

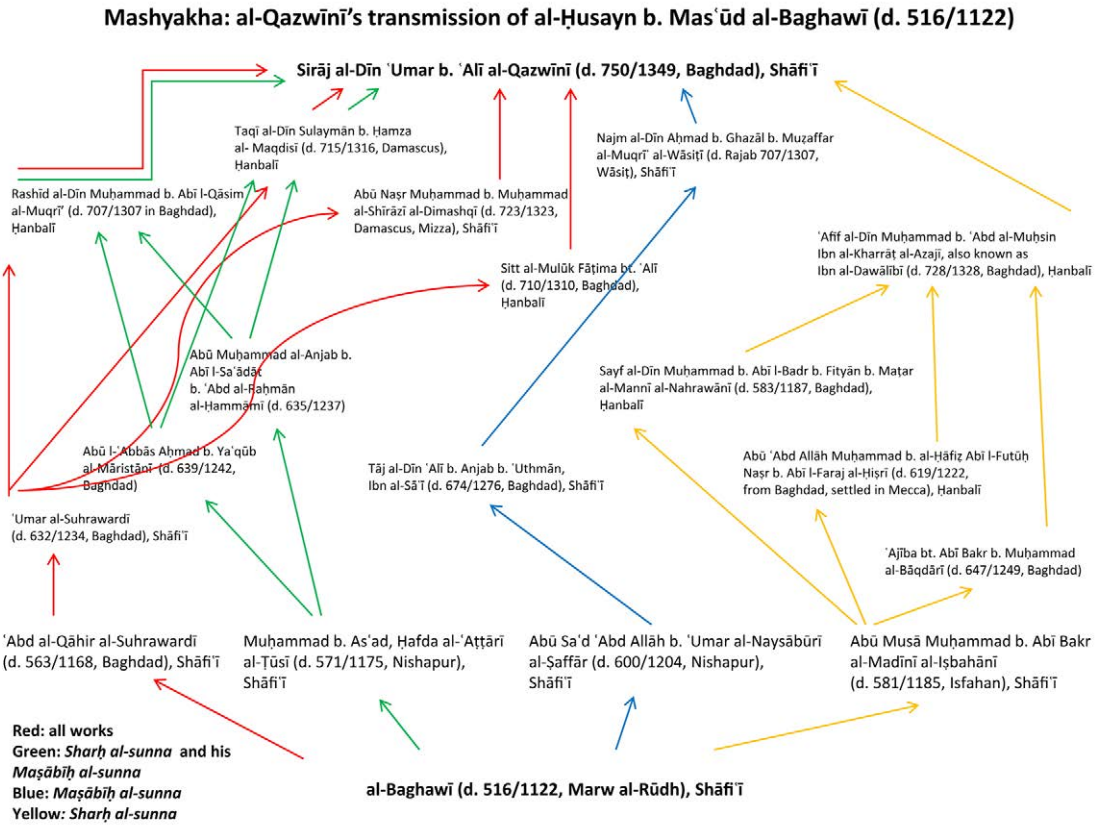

Figure 2: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) works according to his Mashyakha.

As can be seen in Figure 2, al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt* mention four scholars transmitting from al-Baghawī in the 6th/12th century. This first generation is still very much located in the east, that is, Khurasan and Fārs. The two scholars Muḥammad b. Asʿad Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī (d. 571/1175) and Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣaffār (d. 600/1204) were known figures who were active in Nishapur. Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī originally came from Ṭūs, but settled as a scholar in Nishapur. In Marw al-Rūdh, he studied with al-Baghawī, becoming a famous transmitter for al-Baghawīʾs works. Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī stayed in Iraq, the Jazira, Adharbayjan, and Tabriz, where he died.[38] Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār was a member of one of the prestigious notable families of Nishapur. He was a grandson of one of the Shāfiʿī

38 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 20, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 539 (no. 341).

scholars of Nishapur, Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī,[39] and was himself a scholar.[40] The third figure in this first generation recalls the region in which the earliest eminent commentaries on al-Baghawī's commentary were written, namely Fārs: Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 581/1185), active in Isfahan. While these three figures represent the early geographical center for the transmission of al-Baghawī in the east, it is the fourth transmitter who is a direct connection between Khurasan and Baghdad: ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168). As already pointed out, he is a key figure in al-Qazwīnī's network for the transmission of al-Baghawī's works, and will be discussed further below.

After this first generation of transmitters, Baghdad now becomes the focus in the 7th/13th century. Most of this second generation of transmitters, active in Baghdad, died before Hülegü's conquest of the city, such as ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), Aḥmad al-Māristānī (d. 639/1242), al-Anjab b. Abī l-Saʿādāt al-Ḥammāmī (d. 635/1237), and the female *muḥadditha* ʿAjība bt. Abī Bakr (d. 647/1249). But these scholars did experience the first wave of the Mongol invasion in the early 1220s. Slightly later scholars of this generation, such as ʿAlī b. Anjab b. ʿUthmān Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1276), were contemporary to Hülegü's invasion. While the first generation of transmitters clearly was Shāfiʿī, already in this next generation we encounter a number of Ḥanbalī scholars.

The third generation of transmitters is the one from whom al-Qazwīnī heard al-Baghawī's works. Most of these moments of transmission happened in Baghdad. Three of the scholars transmitting al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī were active in Baghdad and died there: Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrī' (d. 707/1307), ʿAfīf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ibn al-Kharrāṭ al-Azajī, also known as Ibn al-Dawālībī (d. 728/1328), and the female scholar Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī (d. 710/1310). All of them were Ḥanbalīs. The fourth transmitter in this generation, the Shāfiʿī Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ al-Wāsiṭī, came from Wāsiṭ, where he died in 707/1307. Two other transmitters came from Damascus. In fact, in his *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's works, al-Qazwīnī does not specifically mention Damascus as a place of hearing or reading. But since he is known to have studied with a number of Ḥanbalī scholars there, it is possible that the transmission from the Damascene scholars Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī (d. 715/1316) and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī (d. 723/1323) happened in Damascus. On the other hand we know that at least Taqī al-Dīn had *ijāzāt* from Baghdad, hence, these transmissions might equally have taken place in Baghdad.[41]

The transmission of all works of al-Baghawī according to the Mashyakha *(red arrows)*

We have to understand the *riwāyāt* for the specific works of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* and the *Sharḥ al-sunna* (green, blue, and yellow arrows) as *extra lines of transmission* in addition to the *riwāyāt* given for all works of al-Baghawī. Hence, these two hadith works were also

39 On the prominent position of the Qushayrī family for the establishment and spread of the Shāfiʿī legal school in Khurasan, and above all Nishapur, see Halm, *Ausbreitung*, 53-70.

40 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 21, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 403-404 (no. 206).

41 Another possibility is that these were certificates without direct contact; future studies of audition certificates might reveal concrete evidence for these contacts.

transmitted via the two Suhrawardīs and their network. The two Suhrawardīs are thus central to the transmission of al-Baghawī's works in Baghdad.

Al-Qazwīnī states that the *riwāyāt* for all works of al-Baghawīʾs would exceed fifty. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī is the key transmitter of the first generation,[42] followed by his nephew ʿUmar as transmitter of the second generation. Both are linked to Baghdad.

• **ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī:** ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī was born in Suhraward west of Sultaniyya around 490/1096-97, and came to Baghdad at a young age.[43] Here, he was an active scholar for *taṣawwuf* and hadith, teaching at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, but also withdrawing to live an ascetic life. For his Sufi path, he founded his own *ribāṭ* with an attached madrasa. ʿAbd al-Qāhir passed away in Baghdad in 563/1168 and was buried in his *ribāṭ*. He is best known for his Sufi *adab* work *Ādāb al-murīdīn*. But he also was the first to write a commentarial work on al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, which is often given as a lexicographic *gharīb al-ḥadīth*, but in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* is mentioned as *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-Maṣābīḥ*.[44]

• **ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī:** ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was ʿAbd al-Qāhir's nephew and most likely his most influential student in the field of Sufism. He wrote the popular *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, a handbook on Sufism that circulated widely and was translated into numerous languages. Apart from works on Sufi topics, ʿUmar also published in the fields of law and Qurʾan commentary, and we are fortunate to have his own *Mashyakha*. ʿUmar was also the founder of the Suhrawardiyya brotherhood. Born in 539/1144 in Suhraward, he later settled in Seljuq Baghdad and studied *fiqh*, sermon (*waʿẓ*), and *taṣawwuf* with his uncle ʿAbd al-Qāhir. At his uncle's madrasa in Baghdad, he also acted as preacher. He consorted with a number of famous scholars and Sufis of his time, in and beyond Baghdad. He died in Baghdad in 632/1234.

From ʿUmar, the transmission line is divided into four contacts. These are the four transmitters of the third generation that are specifically registered in the *Mashyakha* for the transmission of all works from al-Baghawī:

• **Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ:** Rashīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ al-Salāmī, who also carried the honorific title of *musnid al-ʿIrāq*.[45] He was a Baghdadi Ḥanbalī scholar, *muḥaddith*, and Sufi, who was born in 623/1226, and died in 707/1307 in Baghdad. As a Ḥanbalī, his tomb was in the graveyard of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in Baghdad. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ also acted as a copyist, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī stresses in his *al-Durar al-kāmina* that Rashīd's handwriting must have been exceptionally beautiful. He was one of the scholars who experienced the

42 Parts of his transmission seem to be direct from al-Baghawī, parts of it are linked to a known scholar from Khurasan, Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Shaḥḥāmī al-Shurūṭī al-Naysābūrī (d. 533/1139), a leading Shāfiʿī hadith scholar from Nishapur.

43 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 20, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 476 specifies that he was ten years old when he arrived in Baghdad.

44 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 536 (no. 388).

45 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 4, unknown editor, 150 (no. 392); Maʿrūf, *Mustanṣiriyya*, 213-216.

Mongol invasion of Baghdad, the end of the Abbasid caliphate, and the conversion of Ghazān Khān to Islam at the end of the 13th century, turning the Ilkhanids (at least nominally) into a Muslim dynasty. As we will see in the following, this scholar is a key transmitter both for the works of al-Baghawī and for the works of the two Suhrawardīs. What also brings him close to al-Baghawī is the very fact that he is transmitting, among others, from one of the early and highly influential commentators of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, Faḍl Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tūrabushtī (or Tūrānpushtī; d. 661/1263). Rashīd al-Dīn taught at the *dār al-ḥadīth* in the Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya and transmitted to numerous Baghdadi scholars, but also to those visiting Baghdad from elsewhere on their quest for knowledge (*ṭalab/riḥla al-ʿilm*).

• **Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī:** The second source for al-Qazwīnī is Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān b. Ḥamza b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī. Taqī al-Dīn was a Ḥanbalī *faqīh* from Damascus, and the *musnid al-Shām* of his time. He was born in Rajab 628 (May-June 1231) and died in Dhū l-Qaʿda 715 (January-February 1316).[46] His network, which extends to Baghdad and Isfahan, shows that despite all the political frontiers, scholarly transmission functioned across those borders, as it functioned across legal schools. Such networks of scholars from Iran, Iraq, and Syria are reflected in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* in general, and they seem to illustrate the main intellectual geographical range of hadith scholarship in the Mongol period.

• **Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī:** The third scholar transmitting al-Baghawī's work to al-Qazwīnī is the Shāfiʿī Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hibbat Allāh al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī, about whom not much is known. With a family originating from Shiraz, he was born in 629/1232 in Damascus, where he was active as *muḥaddith*, *faqīh*, and *qaḍī*. Later on, he was also active in Mizza (close to Damascus), hence his third nisba al-Mizzī. His network of transmission included, through his own travels, Egypt, as well as several contacts in Baghdad. One of his sources here was ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. He died in Mizza in 723/1323.[47]

• **Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī:** The fourth transmitter is a female scholar: Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Abī al-Badr al-Kātib. While Taqī al-Dīn and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī were scholars from Damascus, Sitt al-Mulūk was, like Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ, a Baghdadi scholar. She, too, was Ḥanbalī, born in Baghdad, where she died in 710/1310. She was buried, like Rashīd al-Dīn, in the graveyard of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. In the same vein as Rashīd al-Dīn, she lived in both pre-Mongol and Mongol Baghdad. Her teachers came from Baghdad, or were active in Baghdad – as a woman, she was undoubtedly more restricted when it came to traveling. Among her teachers was another female scholar: ʿAjība bt. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib al-Bāqdārī al-Baghdādī (d. Ṣafar 647 [May-June

46 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol.2, unknown editor, 146-147 (no. 1837); al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, vol. 1, 267 (no. 186).

47 Al-Miknāsī (Ibn al-Qāḍī), *Dhayl Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, vol. 2, 255-256; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, eds. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 111-112.

1249]). ʿAjība, too, apparently had her own *mashyakha*,[48] and she was also a transmitter of al-Baghawī's works, so we have these two female scholars connected in the wider network of the Baghawī transmission.[49] Sitt al-Mulūk was a source of transmission to al-Qazwīnī for the works of al-Baghawī, as well as for the works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. We also know that al-Qazwīnī read the entire *Sunan* of al-Dārimī with Sitt al-Mulūk at the Bāb al-Marātib, a quarter of notables and merchants in east Baghdad, in Rajab 707 (December 1307-January 1308).[50]

The presence of two female figures, ʿAjība and Sitt al-Mulūk, in the *riwāyāt* of al-Qazwīnī reflects the influential standing of women in the Mongol period, but above all the active role of women in hadith scholarship – this has been attested and studied for the Mamluk period, particularly in Damascus, but much less so for pre-Mongol and Mongol Baghdad.[51]

As Figure 2 shows, the transmission via ʿAbd al-Qāhir and his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is the node within this network. And as we will see later, a number of scholars appearing in the network after ʿUmar are also responsible for the transmission of the works of these two Suhrawardīs.

As well as the *riwāya* that runs through ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, there is a second *riwāya* that appears in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, as well as in the two manuscripts Istanbul, Süleymaniyya Library, Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184. This is the shortest *riwāya* (*al-aʿlā*) with only two generations between al-Baghawī and al-Qazwīnī.[52] In this case, the transmission takes place through Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣaffār (d. 618/1221-22), the above-mentioned scholar from Nishapur. The only link between the Shāfiʿī Abū Sa'd ʿAbd Allāh from Khurasan and al-Qazwīnī in Baghdad is Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, also known as Ibn al-Bukhārī. This Ḥanbalī scholar from Damascus is known to have lived in or visited Bukhara, Baghdad, Ḥomṣ, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo, and passed away in 690/1291.

Transmission of the **Sharḥ al-sunna** *and the* **Maṣābīḥ al-sunna** *according to the* **Mashyakha** *(green arrows)*

The additional *riwāyāt* given for these two works of hadith runs through Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī, the above-mentioned scholar born in Ṭūs but active in Nishapur. While this line splits up to the two scholars al-Māristānī and Ibn Abī al-Saʿādāt in the next generation, it is again connected to the transmission network for all works of al-Baghawī, that is, the third generation transmitting from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. Two of the previously mentioned third-generation scholars are the direct transmitters to al-Qazwīnī for the *Sharḥ al-sunna* and the *Maṣābīḥ*:

48 Al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, vol. 5, 194; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 5, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 238.

49 ʿAjība's network expanded to Mamluk Syria, too; she issued *ijāzāt*, e.g., for the Damascene female scholar Zaynab bt. Al-Kamāl (d. 740/1339); see Sayeed, *Women and Transmission*, 163, 169.

50 See Nadwi, *Muhaddithat*, 205; in general, also Sayeed, *Women and Transmission*.

51 On women in the Mongol period, see De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran*, and *idem*, Pādshāh Khatun; Quade-Reuter, *Herrschaftliche Damen*; on Sitt al-Mulūk, see Nā'if, al-Faqīha al-Baghdādiyya.

52 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 325.

Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ from Baghdad, and Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī from Damascus (both Ḥanbalīs).

Transmission of the Maṣābīḥ al-sunna *according to the* Mashyakha *(blue arrows)*

Unlike the other *riwāyāt* that are split between a number of different transmitters at a certain link, the additional *riwāya* for the hadith compilation *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* is a single strand *isnād*: it starts in Nishapur with ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār and runs through Tāj al-Dīn Anjab Ibn Sāʿī in Baghdad to Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī. All of these scholars were Shāfiʿīs.

Al-Qazwīnī had recited the entire *Maṣābīḥ* in Baghdad to al-Wāsiṭī. Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ al-Wāsiṭī (d. Rajab 707/1307 in Wāsiṭ) was al-Qazwīnī's shaykh in Wāsiṭ, the city where he studied and was active before coming to Baghdad. Al-Wāsiṭī, in turn, had recited the *Maṣābīḥ* to the Shāfiʿī Baghdadi scholar Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Anjab b. ʿUthmān, Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. Ramaḍān 674/1276) who was a historian and librarian at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa in Baghdad.[53] Ibn al-Sāʿī ʿAlī b. Anjab had a written *riwāya* from al-Ṣaffār who had heard the *Maṣābīḥ* directly (*samāʿan*) from al-Baghawī.

Transmission of the Sharḥ al-sunna *according to the* Mashyakha *(yellow arrows)*

The *riwāyāt* for the hadith commentary *Sharḥ al-sunna* is again a multiple *isnād*, dominated by Ḥanbalī scholars. It starts with a transmitter from Fārs, the Shāfiʿī scholar from and active in Isfahan, Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿĪsā al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī (d. Jumāda I 581 [July-August 1185]). Al-Iṣfahānī was a direct transmitter from al-Baghawī. In turn, he is said to have transmitted the *Sharḥ* to three scholars: Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mannī al-Nahrawānī (d. 583/1187), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faraj al-Ḥiṣrī (d. 619/1222), and the female scholar ʿAjība bt. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bāqdārī (d. 647/1249).[54] This part of the transmission process is already located in Baghdad.

Still in Baghdad, the transmission of the *Sharḥ al-sunna* continued through the reading of al-Qazwīnī to the Baghdadi Ḥanbalī scholar ʿAfīf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Azajī, also known as Ibn al-Kharrāṭ [Ibn] al-Dawālībī (d. 728/1328).

Summary of the transmission of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī according to his Mashyakha

The transmission of al-Baghawī's works connects Khurasan with Baghdad through scholars active in Nishapur, Isfahan, Wāsiṭ, Damascus, and Baghdad, who had mainly Shāfiʿī

53 Ibn al-Sāʿī was already librarian at the Mustanṣiriyya library during the Abbasid caliphate and kept his position until 671/1272. He also served as librarian in the Niẓāmiyya. He compiled a biographical dictionary, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn*, that, even though not entirely preserved, is a key source for Baghdadi scholars, beside Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Majmaʿ al-alqāb*. See also Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge.

54 The female hadith scholar ʿAjība also had a connection to al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī relating to the transmission of another work of al-Baghawī, namely the *Mushkil al-Qurʾān*; see Nadwi, *Muḥaddithāt*, 115; on ʿAjība in general, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 23, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 233.

and Ḥanbalī affiliations. It spans the moment of the first Mongol invasions into Khurasan and Iraq in 1220 and 1221, through Hülegü's invasion in the 1250s, to the beginning of the 14th century when Baghdad was still under Ilkhanid rule.

Even though we only analyzed five of the *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's works above – specific ones for individual works, and those for all works – the chronological, geographical, and legal frame outlined above is also valid for the remaining *riwāyāt* for all works of al-Baghawī. A few of the above-mentioned scholars re-appear in these lines, above all Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ from Baghdad, which proves that he was an important transmitter for al-Qazwīnī. But, unsurprisingly, more transmitters also emerge. On the one hand, they, too, mirror the regional transmission from today's Afghanistan, via Khurasan and Fārs, to Baghdad and Damascus. On the other hand, they add some additional information.

The first piece of information is simply that we find one Ḥanafī and one Mālikī scholar within these *riwāyāt*. Secondly, we can identify another "bundle" of transmission beside the one that runs through the two Suhrawardīs. In this case, it is a transmission arising from Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Madīnī al-Iṣfahānī, the Shāfiʿī scholar from Isfahan who died in 581/1185. Central for this transmission is the family of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (or al-Jīlī). Born in the province of Gilan, active until his death in Baghdad in 661/1166, this Ḥanbalī scholar and Sufi was the starting point for the Qādiriyya brotherhood. Within the *riwāyāt* in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, it is two of ʿAbd al-Qādir's grandsons who feature as most prominent transmitters: Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī and his brother Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī. With the Suhrawardīs as point of departure for a Sufi brotherhood, the Suhrawardiyya, we thus have another nucleus for a Sufi brotherhood within the *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, namely the Qādiriyya.[55] Then the third point that emerges from these additional *riwāyāt* is that both the al-Suhrawardī and the al-Jīlī "bundles" illustrate the impact of transmission within families. In one *riwāya* given in the *Mashyakha* for all works of al-Baghawī, the transmission starts with Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Iṣfahānī (see above), runs through two transmitters in the second generation, and finally reaches the great-grandson of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī: Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. It is this great-grandson of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, who transmitted the works of al-Baghawī to al-Qazwīnī in the Mongol period.

Due to the central role of ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī in the transmission of al-Baghawī's works to al-Qazwīnī, I compare in the following the lines of transmission of their works to al-Qazwīnī with the ones from al-Baghawī.

55 There were also ties between ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Baghdad. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī passed away in 516/1166, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī only two years later, in 563/1168. Known to each other, the former also acted as spiritual guide for ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, even if only for a shorter period. On their relationship, see Held, *ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*, 96-108 (on ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī) and 142-161 (on ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī).

The transmission of works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī to al-Qazwīnī according to al-Qazwīnī's Mashyakha

Roughly one hundred and fifty years after ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī's death in 563/1168, al-Qazwīnī transmitted his works in Baghdad. Even though he was nearly a generation later than al-Baghawī, ʿAbd al-Qāhir still lived during the Seljuq period, and thereby the integration of a moderate Sufism into mainstream Sunnism. He, too, profited from the establishment of the madrasa by the Seljuq vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, and taught at the famous Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad.

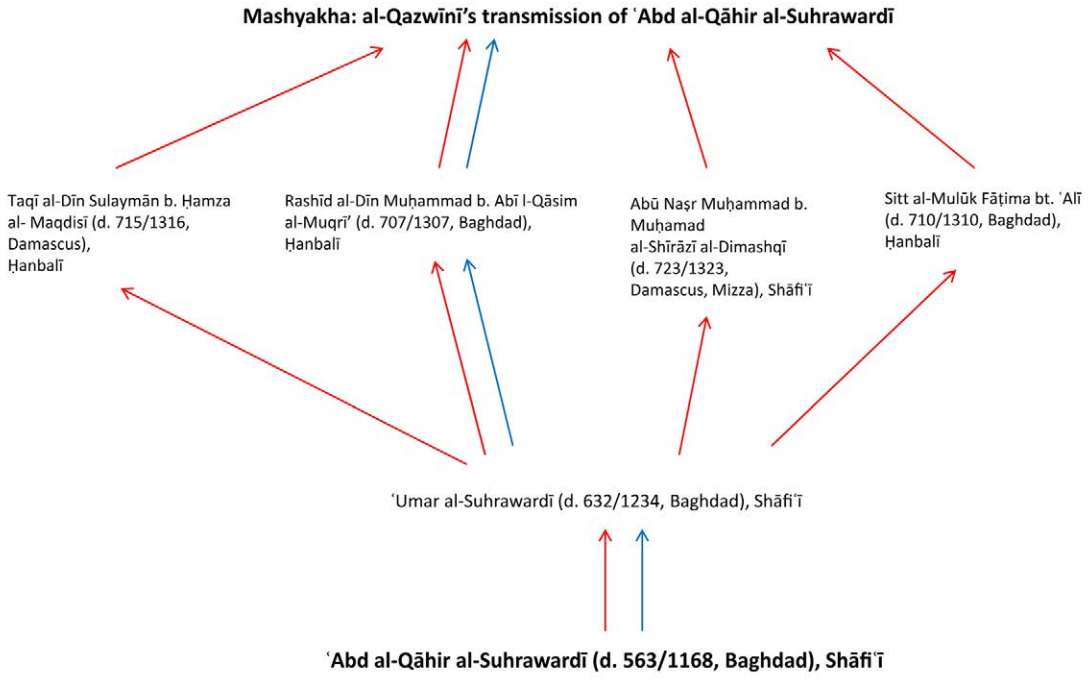

Figure 3: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī's (d. 563/1168) works according to his Mashyakha.

If we look at Figure 3, we can immediately see that once again we have the direct connection from ʿAbd al-Qāhir to his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. This was already the node for the transmission of the al-Baghawī's works. Al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* distinguishes between all works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir, and a specific additional one for *Muntakhab min al-amālī*.

The transmission of all works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir include his best known work *Ādāb al-murīdīn*, the *Imlāʾ*, but also his commentarial work on al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, which is mentioned here as *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-Maṣābīḥ*.[56] All works are transmitted through the

56 Al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 536 (no. 388).

same figures as in the Baghawī transmission: the two scholars from Damascus, Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī; and the two scholars from Baghdad, Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muqrīʾ and Sitt al-Mulūk. Again, we see the majority of Ḥanbalī scholars as the last transmitters to al-Qazwīnī. The additional transmission of the *Muntakhab* runs only through one *isnād*, albeit a known one. It was transmitted from ʿAbd al-Qāhir to his nephew ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (by *samāʿ*), and from ʿUmar (through *ijāza*) to Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ.

The transmission of works of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī to al-Qazwīnī according to the Mashyakha

Al-Qazwīnī had also heard and read the works of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). In his *Mashyakha*, al-Qazwīnī elaborates on *riwāyāt* for all works of ʿUmar, and additional ones specifically for ʿUmar's *Mashyakha* and his *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*.

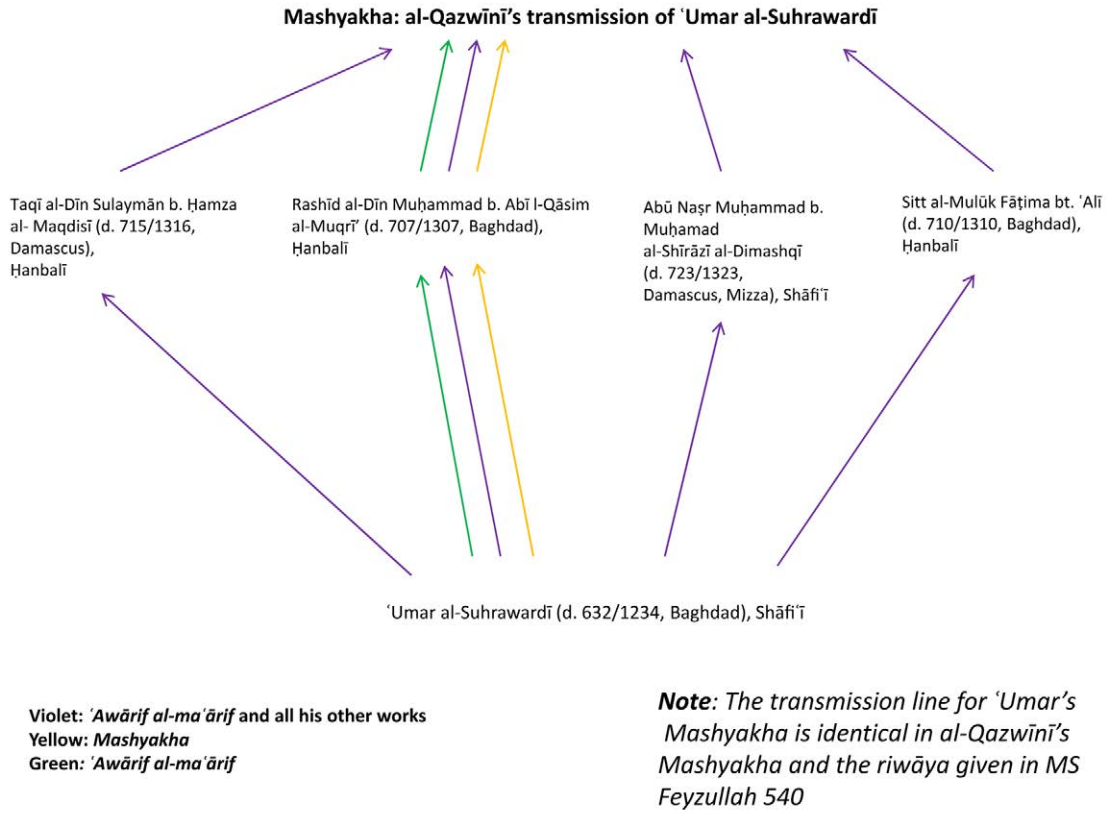

Figure 4: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) works according to his Mashyakha.

The violet arrows in Figure 4 are *riwāyāt* for the transmission of the *ʿAwārif*, but also all other works of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. What we see are the same lines of transmission that we have already encountered in the transmission of all works of al-Baghawī, and all works of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī: four scholars gave an *ijāza* to al-Qazwīnī, and all of these four scholars had received the *ijāza* from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (some of them also through *samāʿ*). The four scholars that connect ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī to al-Qazwīnī are, once again, our Baghdadi scholars Rashīd al-Dīn and Sitt al-Mulūk, and the Damascene scholars Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī and Shams al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī.

As to ʿUmar's *Mashyakha* (yellow arrows), it was also transmitted by the above mentioned Baghdadi scholar Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ. Rashīd al-Dīn transmitted the text to al-Qazwīnī, beginning on the 19 Muḥarram 705 (11 August 1305). Rashīd al-Dīn passed away roughly two years after this reading. He had heard (*samāʿ*) the *Mashyakha* personally from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī on the 26 Shaʿbān 628 (29 June 1231). If we recall that Rashīd al-Dīn was born in 623/1226, and that ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī died in 632/1234, this appears to be a typical example of an *ijāza* given to a child.

The second *riwāya* (green arrows) relates to ʿUmar's Sufi handbook *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*. As the graph shows, ʿUmar gave an *ijāza* to our Baghdadi scholar Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ who in turn transmitted it to al-Qazwīnī; or, more precisely, al-Qazwīnī read the entire *ʿAwārif* to Rashīd al-Dīn (*qirāʾa*).

Manuscript evidence for al-Qazwīnī's teaching of the Maṣābīḥ al-sunna

Two types of manuscript entries are central for the reconstruction of al-Qazwīnī's lines of transmission, and his concrete teaching activity on the relevant texts in Mongol Baghdad. Most important are the sessions of audition and recitation (*samāʿ*, *qirāʾa*).[57] However, there is the additional entry type of the collation note (*muqābala*). Collating, that is comparing different manuscripts containing the same work, was a crucial part of a severe critical revision process, intended to guarantee the proper transmission of texts, marking possible divergent versions within the manuscripts themselves.

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540

We can now finally turn back to the beginning of this article, and al-Qazwīnī's reading session with al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in the Caliphal Mosque in the winter of 734/1333-1334. This reading session in the Caliphal Mosque took place only a few months before Abū Saʿīd's death in 736/1335, often seen as end of the Ilkhanid period, which was to be followed by the post-Mongol decades of campaigning pretenders who had family or professional ties to the Ilkhanid dynasty.

The circumstances of this reading session in the Caliphal Mosque are noted down in a manuscript that contains al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* as the main text. The colophon of this manuscript (fol. 241v) dates its completion to Dhū l-Ḥijja 727 (October-November 1327), but it does not give a place of copying. Today it is kept at the Süleymaniyye Library in Istanbul, as part of the Feyzullah collection, under the shelf mark 540. On the page opposite the colophon, we see a one-page entry in which al-Qazwīnī himself registers the session in 734 in his own characteristic handwriting (fol. 242r).

57 See p. 70 in this article.



Figure 5: Audition and reading certificate of Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣbahānī [al-Iṣfahānī] issued by al-Qazwīnī in winter 734/1333-1334 in the Caliphal Mosque. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 242r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

What is the basic information that al-Qazwīnī gives us in this entry of audition and recitation? He tells us that a person called "Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Rajāʾī al-Iṣfahānī"[58] (who had the *laqab* ʿAzīz Mā Shādhdhah (عزيز ما شاذه)) read the entire *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* of al-Baghawī in his presence (lines 3-5). Al-Ḥasan's *nisba* tells us that he originated from and/or was active in Isfahan, and al-Qazwīnī presents him as a scholar trained in jurisprudence and philology. Al-Qazwīnī lets us know that the reading of the *Maṣābīḥ* took place over several sessions (*majālis*), of which the last occurred on Saturday (*yawm al-sabt*), 5 Rajab 734 (13 March1334), in the Caliphal Mosque in Baghdad (line 6).

Over the following lines, al-Qazwīnī additionally lists texts that al-Iṣfahānī had heard from him (*samāʿ*), books as well as individual hadiths. One of the texts that al-Qazwīnī reads for al-Iṣfahānī in those winter sessions was the *Mashyakha* of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (line 9), of which we have heard above. The basic content of the vast majority of lines from line 7 on are the books, or hadiths, that al-Qazwīnī read to al-Iṣfahānī, and al-Qazwīnī's own *riwāyāt* – at least those that he deemed important to mention. At the very end, we get al-Qazwīnī's

58 Given by al-Qazwīnī as al-Iṣbahānī on fol. 242r, by al-Iṣfahānī himself as al-Iṣfahānī on fol. 242v.

signature and the date of his entry, that is Tuesday (*yawm al-thulāthāʾ*), 8 Rajab 734 (15 March 1334).

Following the note where al-Qazwīnī mentions that al-Iṣfahānī had heard the entire *Mashyakha* of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, as well as some hadiths attached to it, from him (*min lafẓī*), he gives his own *riwāya* for the *Mashyakha*: namely that he, al-Qazwīnī, had the authority through his own reading (*bi-qirāʾatī*) in front of the *musnid al-ʿIrāq*, "Rashīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ", through his hearing (*samāʿ*) from the author himself, that is Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī (lines 10-11).

If we compare the information given in this manuscript entry with al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, we see that it is identical: al-Qazwīnī heard ʿUmar's *Mashyakha* from Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muqrīʾ who had heard it from ʿUmar. The *Mashyakha* had given us some further information about this moment of transmission: Rashīd al-Dīn himself had heard the *Mashyakha* personally from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī on the 26 Shaʿbān 628, that is 29 June 1231. As mentioned earlier in this article, this transmission between Rashīd al-Dīn al-Muqrīʾ and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī must have taken place when Rashīd al-Dīn was a young child (see above).

The largest part of the text on the lower page is dedicated to al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt* for al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* (lines 19-34). He mentions four lines of transmission:

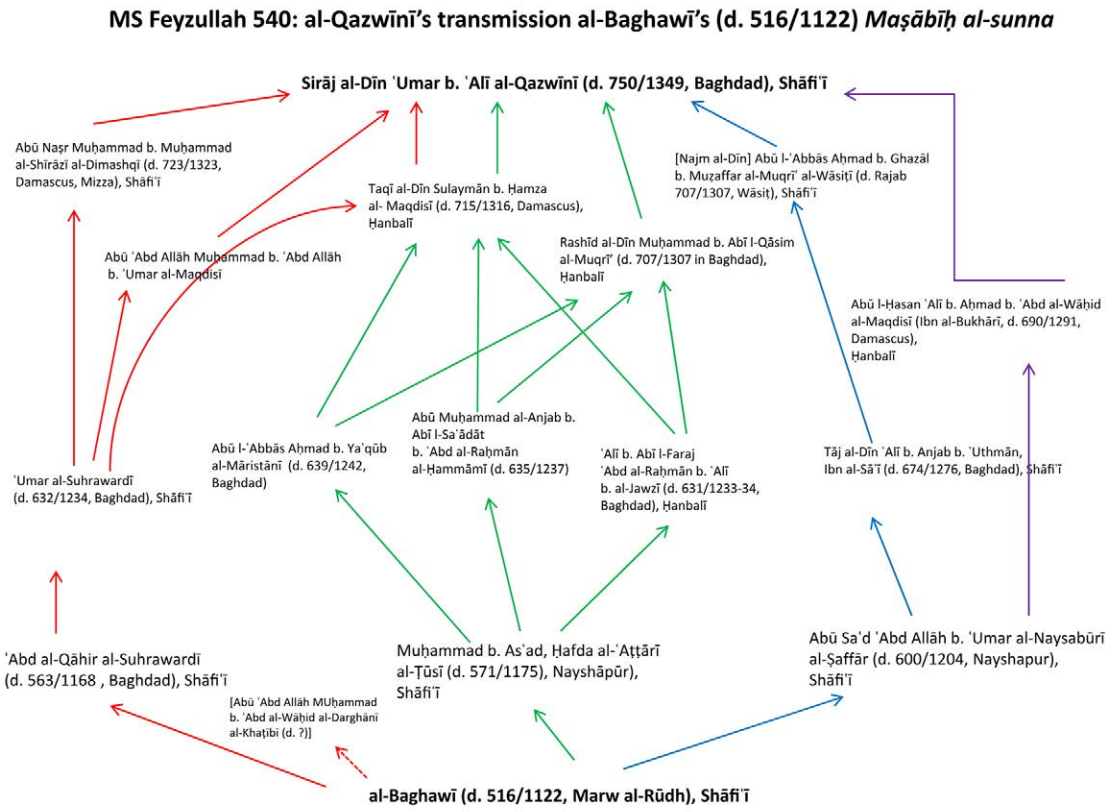

Figure 6: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) Maṣābīḥ al-sunna according to the samāʿ and qirāʾa entry in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 242r.

1. The first source (blue arrows) for al-Qazwīnī is his shaykh (*shaykhunā*) from the Friday Mosque in Wāsiṭ, "Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ", that is Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghazāl b. Muẓaffar al-Muqrīʾ al-Wāsiṭī (d. Rajab 707 [December 1307-January 1308] in Wāsiṭ). The following line of transmission that runs from Aḥmad b. Ghazāl back to al-Baghawī is the same as given in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, and has the following scholars: the Shāfiʿī Baghdadi scholar Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Anjab b. ʿUthmān, Ibn al-Sāʿī, historian and librarian at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa and the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad, who had a written *riwāya* from the Shāfiʿī *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī al-Ṣaffār (d. 618/1221-22), who had heard directly (*samāʿan*) from al-Baghawī (lines 20-23).

2. The second riwāya (red arrows), too, runs mainly parallel to al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, but here, one name is new, and the female teacher Sitt al-Mulūk is missing.

The direct transmitters to al-Qazwīnī are the two scholars known to us from the other *riwāyāt*, namely the Damascene Ḥanbalī Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Maqdisī and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [Hibbat Allāh] al-Shīrāzī [al-Dimashqī]. But to this name, al-Qazwīnī adds a new one: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Maqdisī.[59]

These three transmitters had the permission to transmit the *Maṣābīḥ* from ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, via ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī, back to al-Baghawī. The first transmitter, Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqdisī had this permission through *ijāza*, the other two scholars through *samāʿ* (lines 23-26).[60]

3. The third *riwāya* (green arrows) has two transmitters to al-Qazwīnī, both known figures again: the Baghdadi Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ, and the Damascene Ḥanbalī Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī. These two scholars trace their transmission back to the following three scholars:

- Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Jawzī (d. 630/1233): Even though himself a scholar and transmitter, he is much more known for his father, the famous Baghdadi Ḥanbalī *muḥaddith* Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 597/1201). With ʿAlī b. Abī l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī we have thus another Ḥanbalī transmitter in the network.

59 Apart from the information given by his *nisba*, I have not yet identified this person.

60 In the *riwāya* given in Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is said to have transmitted from two shaykhs (*al-shaykhān al-imāmān*), but the following text mentions only ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī. There is a marker for missing text after ʿAbd al-Qāhir's name, and a second name is given in the margin of the page, outside of the golden frame that surrounds the *samāʿ* and *qirāʾa* entry. This person, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Darghānī al-Khaṭībī, could not be identified, and is therefore marked in Figure 6 in smaller script and with a dotted line. He appears as a transmitter from al-Baghawī to ʿUmar in al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha*, ed. ʿĀmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 322-323.

- Abū Muḥammad al-Anjab b. Abī l-Saʿādāt b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥammāmī al-Baghdādī (d. 635/1237).[61]
- Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Māristānī (d. 639/1242 in Baghdad).[62]

These three scholars received the permission to transmit from Muḥammad b. Asʿad Ḥafda al-ʿAṭṭārī, the known direct transmitter from al-Baghawī in Khurasan.

4. The fourth *riwāya* (violet arrows) is given through *ijāza* from Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, also known as Ibn al-Bukhārī. His high reputation as a Ḥanbalī hadith scholar can be seen in the *laqab* given to him by al-Dhahabī: *musnid al-dunyā*, the *musnid* of the world. He traveled a lot and stayed in many places, among them Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. In 690/1291 he died in Damascus.[63] He, in his turn, had received the *ijāza* from Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Ṣaffār, the Nishapuri scholar we know.



Figure 7: Title page of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 5r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

61 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 23, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 14-15 (no. 7).

62 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 23, ed. al-Arnāʾūṭ *et al.*, 77-80 (no. 57).

63 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 4, 257.

If we turn the page containing al-Qazwīnī's note (fol. 242r), we see another entry, which stretches over three pages (fols. 242v to 243v). The person who wrote this entry is the one who was mentioned by al-Qazwīnī on fol. 242r as the one reciting the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in front of him: Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī. But al-Iṣfahānī was not only the reciter of this text. The title page (fol. 5r) mentions him as the owner of this manuscript, Feyzullah 540.

This would make Isfahan, or possibly Baghdad, a likely place of copy, even though in the end, we cannot tell for sure, since the colophon does not have a place of copy.[64] The title page is followed by a beautifully designed and annotated table of contents (up to fol. 11r), before the text of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* starts on fol. 11v.



Figure 8: The qirāʾa *entry of Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī in 734/1333-1334 in the Caliphal Mosque, lasting 66 sessions and being headed by al-Qazwīnī. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fols. 242v-243r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.*

64 As far as can be said on the basis of the digitized image of the manuscript, the title page and the table of contents seem to be most likely part of the original manuscript (appearance of the paper, partly the same scribal hands on all pages); but for a definite statement, the analysis of paper and quires would be required.

On fol. 242v, al-Iṣfahānī tells the story of the *Maṣābīḥ* reading sessions in front of al-Qazwīnī from his point of view ("I read the entire *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in front of al-Qazwīnī […]"). But al-Iṣfahānī adds more information. While al-Qazwīnī simply stated that the reading took place in the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa in Baghdad over a number of sessions (*majālis*), the last one on Saturday, 5 Rajab 734 (13 March 1334), al-Iṣfahānī gives us an unusually detailed picture of these events. On fol. 242v he says that the reading cycle of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in the Caliphal Mosque lasted over sixty-six sessions, starting on Saturday, 24 Rabīʿ I (4 December 1333[65]) and ending on Saturday, 5 Rajab (13 March 1334). While such notes on sessions of audition and recitation with date and place are rather common in hadith manuscripts of certain centuries, al-Iṣfahānī goes much further and opens up a vivid picture of a complete reading cycle of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in 8th/14th-century Baghdad. Below his note about his reading in front of al-Qazwīnī, we find sixty-six rectangles framed in red lines (fols. 242v-243v). In these, al-Iṣfahānī lists each session with a date, the passage of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* that was read, and the scholar(s) that registered the meeting. It is a view through a window onto the practice of the *Maṣābīḥ* transmission and the scholarly milieu in the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa in Baghdad in the winter of 1333 to 1334.

Both *qirāʾa* notes give us furthermore a vivid picture of the role that books played in such sessions: both al-Qazwīnī and al-Iṣfahānī describe how al-Iṣfahānī read the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* from his own copy, that is the Feyzullah 540 manuscript, while al-Qazwīnī was collating it with his own, personal copy, which he had written in his own hand.[66] From Baghdad, the Feyzullah 540 manuscript found its way to Shiraz where it was kept, albeit secretly in the house of a merchant during the Shiʿi rule of the Safawīds (r. 1501-1722),[67] before it somehow reached Ottoman Turkey.

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184

The personal manuscript of al-Qazwīnī that he had copied himself and that is referred to in the manuscript Feyzullah 540 analyzed above possibly appears again in another manuscript of the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* kept at the Süleymaniyye Library: Fatih 1184. This manuscript was completed roughly ten years after Feyzullah 540, namely in Muḥarram 737 (August-September 1336). Al-Qazwīnī led a reading session with this manuscript as well. And this time, it was the copyist of the manuscript who recited the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in front of al-Qazwīnī – with the copy that he just had completed, Fatih 1184. Al-Qazwīnī is introduced in the collation note in this manuscript as imam of the Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfa.

65 On this date, see also footnote 1.

66 Al-Qazwīnī writes on fol. 242r that al-Iṣfahānī "read in front of me […] with this copy while I was collating [it] with my own copy written in my own hand" (*qaraʾa ʿalayya […] min hādhihi al-nuskha muqābilan bi-nuskhatī wa-hiya bi-yadī*). Al-Iṣfahānī says: "I read the entire *Maṣābīḥ* […] with this copy to […] ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī […] while he was collating this, my own copy, with his copy [that was] written in his own hand" (*qaraʾtu jamīʿ kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ […] min hādhihi al-nuskha al-mubāraka ʿalā […] ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī […] muqābilan nuskhatī hādhihi bi-nuskhatihi wa-hiya bi-yadihi*).

67 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540, fol. 1r.

While the completion of the manuscript Feyzullah 540 and the reading sessions of al-Qazwīnī and al-Iṣfahānī took place in what was still the late Ilkhanid period, we enter the post-Mongol scene with the Fatih 1184 manuscript, as it was copied in Muḥarram 737 (August-September 1336) and recited until Dhū l-Ḥijja 737 (July 1337). Abū Saʿīd had died in 1335, and even by this point Arpa's interim reign (1335-1336) was much contested; this was the beginning of the power struggles by former Mongol military commanders and administrators.



Figure 9: Colophon and collation note of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fol. 300r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

Again, no place of copying is given in the colophon (fol. 300r). However, the copyist of Fatih 1184 was ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī al-Hamdānī. He was the son of the scholar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī al-Dimashqī (d. 755/1354), also known as Ibn al-Faṣīḥ, who originated from Hamadhān, grew up in Kufa, studied and heard in Baghdad, and finally settled in Damascus.[68] ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, who had accompanied his father to Damascus, is said to have been a productive copyist. He passed away before his father, in 745/1344.[69] In Baghdad,

68 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 1, unknown editor, 204-205 (no. 528).

69 Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, vol. 2, unknown editor, 245 (no. 2112).

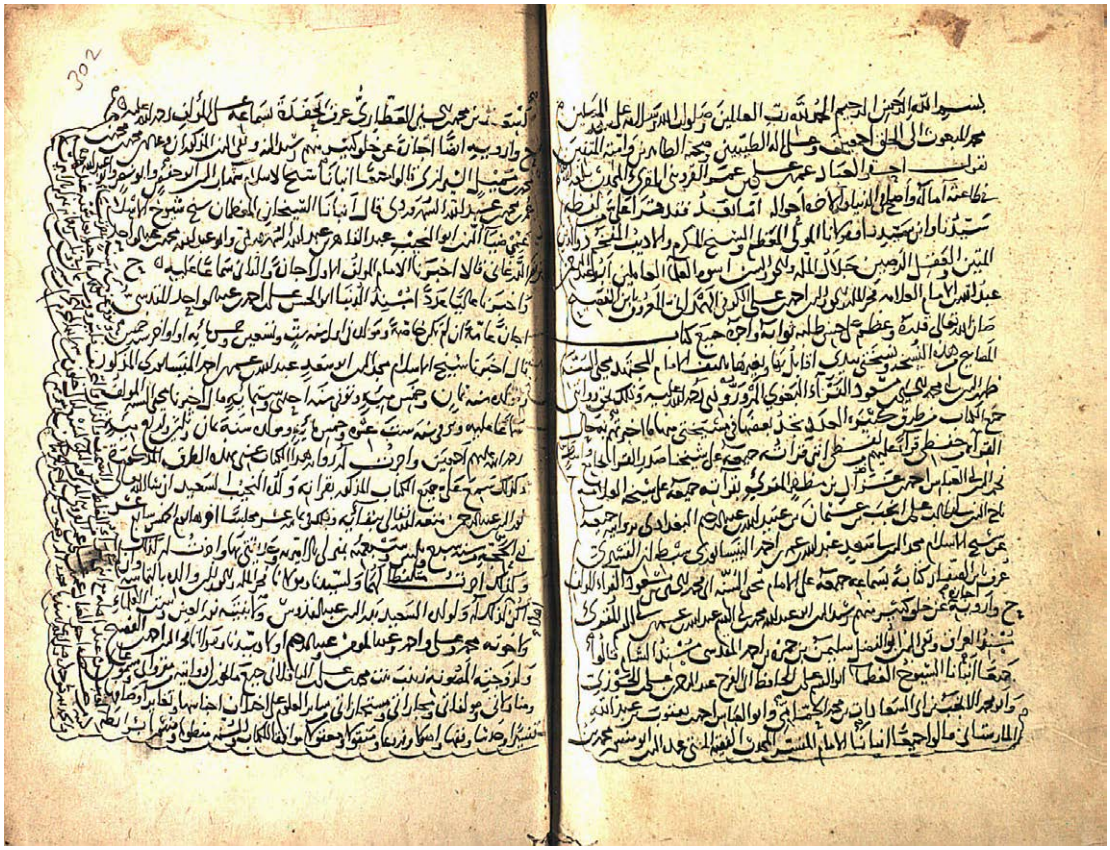

Figure 10: Qirāʾa *note of the copyist ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, and the audition note of his father, in front of al-Qazwīnī in 18 sessions, the last one in 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja 737/17 July 1337, in al-Qazwīnī's home and its gardens in al-Amīriyya. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 301v-302r. With the kind permission of the Presidency of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.*

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad had heard (*samiʿa*), together with his father, from a number of scholars, among them Ibn al-Dawālībī. The sessions of reciting and hearing al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* that al-Qazwīnī registered in the manuscript Fatih 1184 bring to life these studies which father and son pursued together in Baghdad, as will be shown in the following. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad left a longer collation note around the colophon (fol. 300r), informing us that he collated the manuscript Fatih 1184 with three other manuscripts in Shawwāl 737 (May-June 1337), that is roughly ten months after the completion of the copy of Fatih 1184. In this collation note, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad highlights some notes (*ṭibāq*) in these three manuscripts, chosen names of those hearing the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* from the respective manuscript, those issuing the *samāʿ*, the date, and a scribe.[70] But the first manuscript that ʿAbd Allāh mentions is al-Qazwīnī's personal, collated and corrected copy of the *Maṣābīḥ*, a copy repeatedly used for the sake of collation with many other manuscripts. It is very likely, although not entirely established, that this personal copy of al-Qazwīnī is identical with the one that al-Qazwīnī

70 The third manuscript mentioned in this collation note apparently still showed al-Baghawī's own hand.

collated in winter 1333-1334 during the sixty-six reading sessions with al-Iṣfahānī, which is mentioned in the two *qirāʾa* entries in Feyzullah 540 (see above).

While ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad only briefly states in this note of collation that he heard the *Maṣābīḥ* from al-Qazwīnī's manuscript, we find a long entry in al-Qazwīnī's distinct handwriting only two pages later (fols. 301v-302r).

Here, al-Qazwīnī writes (fol. 301v):

[…] فقد فرا عليّ من لفظي عبدالله […] بن احمد بن علي الكوفي الهمْداني المعروف بابن الفصيح […] جميع الكتاب المصابيح من هذه النسخة ونسختي بيدي اقابلُ بها وبغيرها […] وذلك بحق روايتي جميع الكتاب من طرق كثيرة العَدد تجدُ بعضها في مشيختي […]

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī al-Hamdānī, who was also known as Ibn al-Faṣīḥ, read the entire *Maṣābīḥ* in front of me according to my reading from this copy (*min hādhihi al-nuskha*) [that is Fatih 1184], while I [al-Qazwīnī] collated my own copy, written in my own hand, with it, and others (*wa-nuskhatī bi-yadī uqābilu bihā wa-ghayrihā*). […] And this on the authority of my transmission (*bi-ḥaqqi riwāyatī*) for the entire book [the *Maṣābīḥ*] based on numerous lines of transmission (*ṭuruq kathīrat al-ʿadad*) some of which can be found in my *Mashyakha*.

In what follows (fols. 301v-302r), al-Qazwīnī lists a number of these lines of transmission. He then issues the *ijāza* for ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī al-Hamdānī, and adds that also his, ʿAbd Allāh's, father had listened to him (*samiʿa*) (fol. 302r). Then he states (fol. 302r):

وذلك في ثمانية عشر مجلسًا آخرها يوم الخميس سابع عشر ذي الحجة من سنة سبع وثلثين وسبعمائة بمنزلي بالاميرية وحديقتي بها […]

And this happened over eighteen sessions, the last one on Thursday, 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 737 in my home in al-Amīriyya and my garden.

That is, the cycle of recitation with the copyist of Fatih 1184, in which the copyist's father also participated, finished on 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja 737 (17 July 1337).

The neighborhood of "al-Amīriyya" is specified in another, shorter entry by al-Qazwīnī on the left margin of the colophon (fol. 300r). In that note, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad is again mentioned as the one who recited, the date is given as 17 Dhū l-Ḥijja, and the place "in my home in al-Amīriyya" (*bi manzilī bi-l-Amīriyya*). But the small addition of "min al-Maʾmūniyya" informs us that al-Amīriyya was part of al-Maʾmūniyya, a city quarter in east Baghdad.

The lines of transmission given by al-Qazwīnī in Fatih 1184 are identical with the ones given in Feyzullah 540, with one exception: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Maqdisī is not mentioned here.

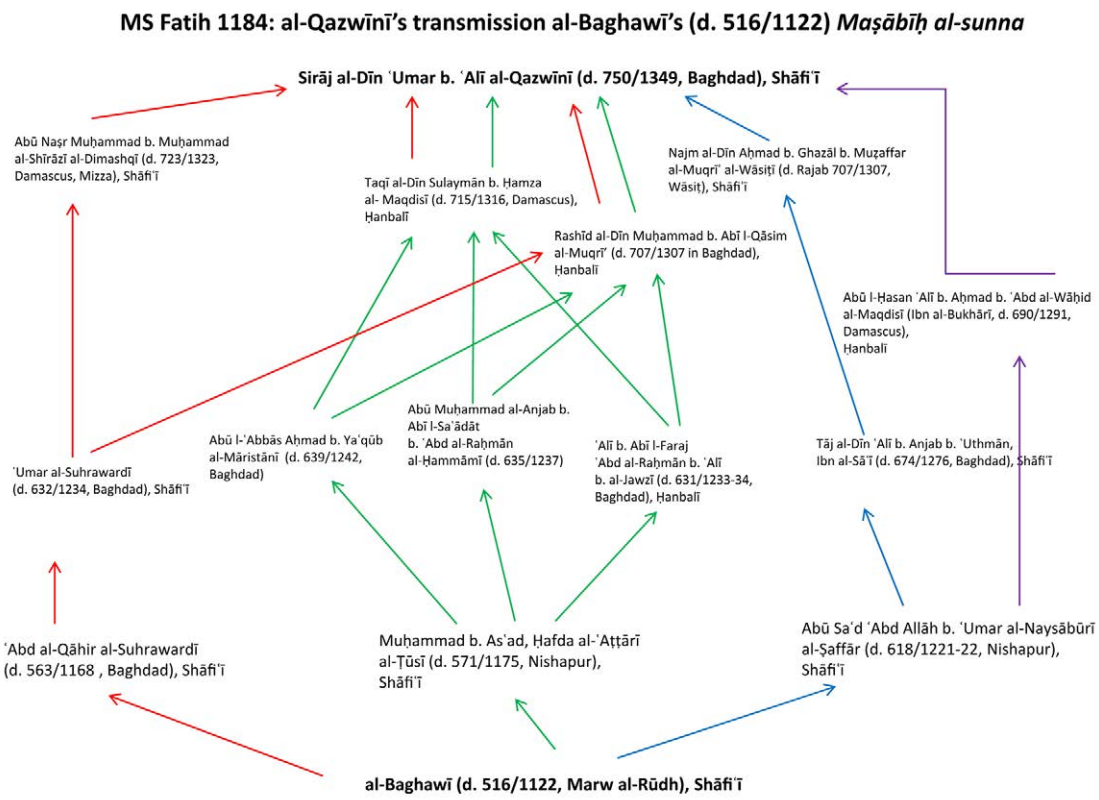

Figure 11: Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's Maṣābīḥ al-sunna *according to MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 301-302r.*

Conclusion

We have cast a spotlight on one hadith scholar, Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī, in order to observe the extent to which we can trace a decrease of hadith scholarship, or even obvious breaks, through the Baghdad of the Ilkhanid and early post-Mongol periods. At this stage, it is too early to say anything general about hadith scholarship in this period, since there is hardly any research on it. But what the example of al-Qazwīnī illustrates is that there was a continuity in hadith scholarship after the Mongol invasion in 1258, and a continuity in transmission and teaching despite the turbulent political events before and after Abū Saʿīd's death in 1335. The impression we get from al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* and the two manuscripts discussed in this article is not that of a scholar detained from his work, but of far-reaching networks of scholars and operating institutions in Baghdad.

In the two manuscripts discussed above – Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184 – we encountered al-Qazwīnī as a scholar teaching al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* in Baghdad shortly before Abū Saʿīd's death in the winter of 734/1333-1334, and then again after Abū Saʿīd's death in 737/1336, during the short interim reign of Arpa Khān and the growing power struggles between different political contenders. Among those contenders were the Jalayirids, who determined much of al-Qazwīnī's later life in Baghdad until his death in 750/1349.

The places in Baghdad where al-Qazwīnī taught with these two manuscripts were the Caliphal Mosque and his private home in the city quarter of al-Maʾmūniyya in the eastern

part of Baghdad.[71] If we furthermore sift through his *Mashyakha*, we encounter al-Qazwīnī at a number of other educational institutions, above all the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, but also the Niẓāmiyya and Bashīriyya madrasas. Many of the Baghdadi scholars of al-Qazwīnī's network were teaching at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa. For example, one of al-Qazwīnī's key transmitters for the works of al-Baghawī and of the two al-Suhrawardīs, Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Muqrīʾ, was a teacher at the al-Mustanṣiriyya. But the Ḥanbalī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ibn al-Kharrāṭ (or Ibn al-Dawālībī) is also said to have taught there. This implies that the Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya was a central place for al-Qazwīnī when it came to the transmission of the works of the Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī. This madrasa, built by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 1227, can thus serve as an example of a certain continuation of scholarship despite the Mongol invasion in 1258, despite the end of the Abbasid caliphate, and despite the initially non-Muslim rule of the Ilkhanids. Ghazān Khān's conversion to Islam must surely have been a relief for Muslim scholars, but in fact, we cannot yet judge the exact impact this had on hadith scholarship in general.

Much of the process of transmission that is al-Qazwīnī's own hearing or reading, as well as his teaching, took place in Baghdad. Even the above-mentioned transmission from his shaykh from Wāsiṭ, where al-Qazwīnī was active before settling in Baghdad, took place in Baghdad. In a few instances we learn about Damascus, Kufa, and Mecca – or better, perhaps, the pilgrimage sites – as further locations in al-Qazwīnī's quest to acquire knowledge.

While the centrality of Baghdad for al-Qazwīnī's scholarly life does not come as a surprise, five other observations should be highlighted here. The first relates to the representation of the legal schools among al-Qazwīnī's transmitters in general, and for the works of the two Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī in particular. As al-Baghawī, the Suhrawardīs, and al-Qazwīnī were Shāfiʿīs, one might expect a clear dominance of Shāfiʿī scholars. For the *Mashyakha* as a whole, this holds true, but is less clear-cut than expected. The second most represented school in al-Qazwīnī's network are the Ḥanbalīs, with the other schools hardly worthy of note in comparison to these two. Zooming in on the transmission of the works of the two Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī, the ratio between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs is much closer to balanced than it is for the entire *Mashyakha*. If we leave aside the author of the relevant work(s) – that is ʿAbd al-Qāhir, ʿUmar, and al-Baghawī – as Shāfiʿīs, and also the Shāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, and concentrate purely on the transmitters between them, then there are nearly equal numbers of Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs.

The second observation relates to the places where the relevant scholars were active or from which they came. While the majority of scholars transmitting to al-Qazwīnī were active in Baghdad, it is also eye-catching that a number of direct transmitters for al-Qazwīnī came from Damascus (all of them Ḥanbalīs). This is true, for example, of Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī and of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Dimashqī. This contact between scholars from Baghdad and Damascus is particularly noteworthy due to the otherwise adversary conflict between the Mamluk and Mongol Empires. It shows that despite such political borders, there was in fact an exchange among scholars. Future research

71 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye, Fatih 1184, fols. 300r, 301v-302r.

will hopefully cast more light onto these dynamics between the Mamluk Empire and the Ilkhanid and Post-Mongol Iraq and Iran.[72]

The third observation is the influence of (moderate) Sufism within hadith circles. Even though only a few *riwāyāt* were discussed above, they showed the participation of two Sufi schools in their formative period: ʿAbd al-Qāhir and ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī as the starting point for the Suhrawardiyya brotherhood, and Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī (al-Jīlānī) and his brother Naṣr as the starting point for the Qādiriyya. And even though the *riwāyāt* presented above relating to the Suhrawardīs and to the al-Jīlīs (or al-Jīlānīs) do seem to suggest two separate intellectual chains, there were ties in terms of teaching and studying, as well as spiritual guidance among these families: ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the grandfather of our two transmitters, were contemporaries and were in contact, and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī was, at least for a short period, a spiritual guide for the younger ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī.

Related to these transmitters again is the fourth observation, namely the impact of knowledge transmission within families. Not only are the two Suhrawardīs a knot in al-Qazwīnī's network of transmission, but one *riwāya* adds that a great-grandson of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was directly transmitting to al-Qazwīnī. Furthermore, we saw the al-Jīlī brothers as transmitters, and al-Qazwīnī himself makes clear in the preface to his *Mashyakha* that he was oftentimes accompanied to sessions by his three children.

Still connected to the topic of the transmitters is the fifth observation, namely the fact that al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* contains four female teachers: Khadīja bt. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhrī, ʿĀ'isha bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Sitt al-Mulūk Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī, and Kawhar nasab bt. Dhī l-Fiqār Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī. When it comes to the transmission of the works of the Suhrawardīs and al-Baghawī, Sitt al-Mulūk appears repeatedly in al-Qazwīnī's *riwāyāt*. It is, though, interesting to observe that there is a clear distinction between al-Qazwīnī's *Mashyakha* and the entries in the two manuscripts analyzed for this article: while Sitt al-Mulūk is listed in his *Mashyakha*, she is not mentioned in the *riwāyāt* in the two manuscripts Feyzullah 540 and Fatih 1184. This is even more noticeable since the *riwāyāt* given in the manuscripts mostly run parallel to those in the *Mashyakha*. Whether it was considered less important to mention Sitt al-Mulūk in the *samāʿ* and *qirāʾa* entries because she was a woman or because she was less famous than the other scholars remains an open question.

All in all, al-Qazwīnī's teaching serves as an example of the continuation of certain institutions and scholarly activities during and after the Mongol invasion and the contested period of the 8th/14th century. Despite the Mongol invasion, military conflicts, and economic crises in some parts of the Ilkhanid empire, all of which has dominated a narrative of the purely destructive power of the Mongols, we can see that there were continuities and indeed a blossoming of the arts, scholarship, and sciences during these centuries. Analyzing the networks of scholars of the Ilkhanid and post-Mongol period also shows the ongoing contact and dynamics of transmission beyond the political borders of the Mamluk and the Mongol Empires.

72 For diplomatic contacts see, e.g., Amitai-Preiss, Exchange of letters; *idem*, Ghazan, Islam and Mongol tradition; Little, Diplomatic missions.

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Figure 11. Al-Qazwīnī's transmission of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* according to MS Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Library, Fatih 1184, fols. 301-302r.

Ḥanafī *fiqh* and the Mongol Conquest: ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Mawṣilī's (d. 683/1284) *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*

Katharina Ivanyi*

This article examines a renowned work of Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*), composed in 7th/13th-century Iraq, in light of the development of the Ḥanafī school of law (*madhhab*) from the pre-Mongol through the Mongol era. In the context of the profound and wide-ranging historical transformations that affected the central and eastern Islamic lands in the Mongol period, the paper will address questions relating to the development of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* in the transition from the "classical" to the "post-classical" period, using ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Buldajī al-Mawṣilī's (d. 683/1284) *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā* as an anchor, rooted in Mongol Baghdad, to look both forwards and backwards.

Keywords: Ḥanafī fiqh*, primers (*mutūn*), epitomes (*mukhtaṣarāt*), commentaries (*shurūḥ*), Iraq, Mosul, Baghdad, Mongols, manuscripts, al-Mawṣilī, Transoxania, Khurasan*

Introduction

There are many areas of the history of Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) that are still in need of detailed scholarly attention. Indeed, our understanding of the historical development of the Ḥanafī school (*madhhab*) over the centuries, in doctrinal as much as institutional terms, remains rather sketchy. This is particularly so when it comes to the period of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, a time of profound transformation under the impact of the Mongol invasions, in both Central and Western Asia. It is a period that witnessed the composition of numerous works of importance for the Ḥanafī tradition, many of which, however, have remained entirely neglected in Western scholarship. Despite their significance for the articulation of Ḥanafī doctrine in this crucial period, works by jurists such as Ibn Māza Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad Burhān al-Dīn Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa (d. 616/1219), Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 619/1222), Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaṣīrī (d. 636/1238), Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Akhsīkathī (d. 644/1247), Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazmīnī (d. 658/1260), and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khabbāzī (d. 691/1291) still await detailed scholarly investigation.[1] They constitute Ḥanafism's *terra incognita* of the 7th/13th

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1 They form, among others, the corpus of texts investigated as part of the project "Hanafitische Jurisprudenz in Asien, 12.-15. Jhdt." funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), Elise Richter grant no. V 943-G.

century, in spite of the important role they played in the constitution of the Ḥanafī canon, as it crystallized in the late medieval and early modern periods – a canon, which, in turn, laid the foundations for key debates of the modern age. The legal opinions of the scholars of this "middle period", as transmitted in the works of Ottoman, Tatar, and Mughal jurists, among others, thus formed the basis for the negotiation and articulation of Ḥanafī doctrine in the modern and contemporary period.

The large majority of jurists who contributed to the formation of this later, "post-classical" Ḥanafī canon were based in Central Asia. Indeed, it is the Bukharan "school" of Ḥanafism, as Murteza Bedir has called it, that is key to our understanding of the development of Ḥanafī *fiqh* in the immediate pre- and post-Mongol periods.[2] However, other centers of Ḥanafī learning also emerged at the time, such as Khwarazm and Anatolia. As Wilferd Madelung has shown, this was largely due to the westward migration of Central Asian scholars, both preceding and following the Mongol invasions.[3] Moreover, Ḥanafī scholarly production had continued in the heartlands of the soon-to-be-extinguished caliphate, in particular in *ʿIrāq al-ʿarab* and its capital, Baghdad. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Mawṣilī al-Buldajī's (d. 683/1284) *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*, the work under investigation in this paper, is, in fact, a prime example of this Iraqi tradition of Ḥanafī scholarship.

In what follows, I will give a short overview of the history of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, with the aim of situating al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār* in the wider institutional and discursive framework of Ḥanafism, historically. I will then introduce the author, as well as his work, in the context of 7th/13th-century Iraq (i.e., in its immediate pre- and post-Mongol conquest setting), paying particular attention to the history of the manuscript transmission of *al-Mukhtār* and its main commentary *al-Ikhtiyār*, likewise composed by al-Mawṣilī. By following the trajectory of Ḥanafī thought and practice preceding and subsequent to al-Mawṣilī – a trajectory which corresponds, chronologically, to that preceding and subsequent to the conquest of Baghdad, where Mawṣilī spent a significant part of his life – the paper aims to provide a first sketch of Ḥanafī scholarship in this crucial period of transition. In doing so, it attempts to map the lay of the land of Ḥanafī learning, in doctrinal and social terms, through the historical juncture of Mongol conquest and rule in Central and Western Asia in the 7th/13th century.

Overview of the History of the Ḥanafī madhhab *up until the Mongol Conquest*

In late classifications of Ḥanafī doctrine, al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā* is usually counted as among the so-called "six books" (*al-kutub al-sitta* or *al-mutūn al-sitta*, "the six texts") of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*.[4] These "six books" or "six texts" conventionally include: (i) al-Qudūrī's

2 Bedir, *Buhara Hukuk Okulu*.

3 Madelung, Westward migration.

4 See Özel, Hanefî Mezhebi, 22. The question of the genesis of the category of "six texts" (*al-mutūn al-sitta*) – as opposed to the better-known categories of "four" or "three" texts of the school respectively (see fn. 5, below) – forms part of a separate investigation of the larger project and will be addressed in a subsequent publication. The term *matn* is complicated, but, in this context, generally refers to a basic teaching text – one that would normally be supplied by a commentary (*sharḥ*) by later scholars or the author himself. A *matn* may be an epitome (*mukhtaṣar*) – and, indeed, most often is – but does not have to be so in all instances. This question, too, will be investigated further as part of the project. Regarding al-Mawṣilī's work,

(d. 428/1036) *al-Mukhtaṣar*, (ii) al-Marghīnānī's (d. 593/1196) *al-Hidāya*, (iii) al-Mawṣilī's (d. 683/1284) *Mukhtār*, (iv) Ibn Sāʿātī's (d. 694/1295) *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, (v) Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī's (d. 710/1310) *Kanz al-daqāʾiq*, and (vi) Burhān al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī's (8th/14th century) *Wiqāyat al-riwāya*.[5] These were considered "the esteemed texts of the later authorities" (*al-mutūn al-muʿtabara min al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*), used for teaching and the transmission of school doctrine.[6]

Out of the six, al-Mawṣilī's *Mukhtār* and Ibn Sāʿātī's *Majmaʿ* both date to the 7th/13th century; moreover, both works originated in Iraq, the author of each having spent significant parts of his life in Baghdad (Ibn Sāʿātī was from Baghdad, while al-Mawṣilī moved there as an adult). Indeed, both held positions of authority among the Ḥanafī "guild" of the city: al-Mawṣilī as a teacher and *muftī* at the Mashhad of Abū Ḥanīfa, Ibn Sāʿātī engaged in the same activities at the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa.[7] Al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār* was composed a few decades before the Mongol conquest of the city, when al-Mawṣilī was still a young man; Ibn Sāʿātī's *Majmaʿ* dates to 690/1291, that is, some three decades after the fall of Baghdad.[8] The initial reception of both works thus falls within the immediate post-conquest period of the city; and both were to rise to special status as "esteemed books" of the *madhhab*, for teaching

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al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā was, at times, alternatively titled *al-Mukhtār li-l-futyā* (i.e., sporting a variant of the singular *fatwā*), *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatāwā* (in the plural), *al-Mukhtār fī furūʿ al-ḥanafiyya*, *al-Mukhtār fi-l-furūʿ*, *al-Mukhtār fi-l-fiqh*, or simply *al-Mukhtār*. See, for instance, al-Majmaʿ al-malikī, *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, vol. 9, 180, and the listings of major library catalogs. For the meaning of the term *fatwā* in the context of Mawṣilī's work and that of others of the "genre", see below.

5 Classifications vary, however; in his didactic poem *ʿUqūd rasm al-muftī*, Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d. 1252/1836), for instance, adds two additional *mutūn* to this list: ʿUbayd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Maḥbūbī's (d. 747/1346) *Nuqāya* (*Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāya*) and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī's (d. 956/1549) *Multaqā al-abḥur*; see Calder, The *ʿUqūd Rasm al-Muftī*, 329. Next to the "six texts", a classification by "four texts" (*al-mutūn al-arbaʿa*) also exists. Indeed, the classification by four texts seems to precede the one by six historically. It usually comprises al-Mawṣilī's *Mukhtār*, Ibn Sāʿātī's *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, al-Nasafī's *Kanz*, and Burhān al-Sharīʿa's *Wiqāya*, while excluding Qudūrī and Marghīnānī. See the entry on Mawṣilī in ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī (d. 1304/1886), *al-Fawāʾid*, 106-107; for a more detailed description of the hierarchy, see the excerpts from Kafawī's (d. 990/1582) *Katāʾib aʿlām al-akhyār* and Ibn Kamāl's (i.e. Kemālpaşazāde's) (d. 940/1534) *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ* in Laknawī's *al-Nāfiʿ al-kabīr*, 8-11. Wael Hallaq has pointed to the great popularity of Ibn Kamāl's typology and its influence on the later Ḥanafī tradition. See Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity and Change*, 15, fn. 33. Finally, a third common classification of Ḥanafī foundational texts as comprised of "three" primers (*al-mutūn al-thalātha*) is at times juxtaposed to the one by "four". The three texts usually *exclude* al-Mawṣilī and Ibn Sāʿātī, conventionally comprising al-Qudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar*, al-Nasafī's *Kanz*, and Burhān al-Sharīʿa's *Wiqāya* instead. See Özel, Hanefî Mezhebi, 22, and Laknawī, *al-Nāfiʿ al-kabīr*, 23.

6 See Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd al-muḥtār*, vol. 1, 77. Ibn ʿĀbidīn refers to both al-Mawṣilī (*ṣāḥib al-Mukhtār*) and Ibn Sāʿātī (*ṣāḥib al-Majmaʿ*) as among the "sixth class" (*al-ṭabaqa al-sādisa*) of Ḥanafī scholars of the "later period" (*al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*), who were considered to be "the class of followers, capable of distinguishing between the strongest, strong and weak [legal opinions], opinions representing the *ẓāhir al-madhhab* [based on the 'six books' of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī] and opinions based on so-called rare transmission" (*ṭabaqat al-muqallidīn al-qādirīn ʿalā al-tamyīz bayn al-aqwā wa-l-qawī wa-l-ḍaʿīf wa-ẓāhir al-madhhab wa nādir al-riwāya*).

7 For the concept of legal guilds, as first elaborated by Louis Massignon, see Makdisi, Guilds of law, 4-7. For the biography of al-Mawṣilī, see below. For Ibn Sāʿātī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 1, ed. al-Ḥilw, 208-212; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 4; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 26-27; Özel, *Hanefi Fıkıh Alimleri*, 116-117.

8 See al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 1, ed. al-Ḥilw, 211.

and reference purposes in the centuries after that – a position they kept until the modern period. Both texts thus represent good case studies for an examination of the production and transmission of Ḥanafī knowledge in the Mongol period.[9] Indeed, the tradition both works drew on was one that had been long established by the 7th/13th century: it was an elaborate and complex discursive tradition, embodied in the literature of *fiqh*, the first written articulations of which can be traced back to the late 2nd century/8th century.

The beginnings of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* go back to scholarly circles in Iraq in the mid-2nd/8th century. Following Joseph Schacht's work on the origins of Islamic jurisprudence, the *madhāhib* (lit. "ways of going") of early Muslim jurists have generally been understood to have emerged out of, and in their origins to embody, the doctrines of regionally circumscribed centers of legal learning, conventionally labeled "schools": Mālikī *fiqh* is thus understood to go back to the "school of Medina", Ḥanafī *fiqh* to that of Kufa (as was Zaydī and Imāmī, i.e., Twelver Shīʿī, *fiqh*), Ibāḍī *fiqh* to that of Baṣra, and so on.[10] Before long, these "regional schools" crystallized into "personal schools" around individual master jurists, such as Abū Ḥanīfa, the eponymous founder of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*.[11] While geographically discrete legal traditions can, indeed, be discerned in the earliest sources, the above picture has been revised and nuanced, in parts significantly, in recent decades.[12] With regard to the Ḥanafiyya, for instance, Christopher Melchert has convincingly argued that although Abū Ḥanīfa came from Kufa, his legal opinions and circle of followers developed in Baghdad, and that it is there that the beginnings of Ḥanafī thought and practice must ultimately be situated.[13]

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9 While al-Mawṣilī will function as the main anchor of our investigation, Ibn Sāʿātī may act as a useful comparative check against which to situate al-Mawṣilī's work, in broader perspective.

10 See, for instance, Schacht, *Introduction*, 28-36; Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law*, 19-23. For a discussion of the term *madhhab*, see Melchert, *Formation*, xvi-xvii; Hallaq, *Origins and Evolution*, 150-153; Weiss, Madhhab in legal theory, 1-9; Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 2-4.

11 The idea that Abū Ḥanīfa should be seen as the "founder" of the Ḥanafī "school" involves not only a problematic backward projection, but also an indiscriminate condensation of what was ultimately a long-drawn-out and complex process, of the formation of a highly intricate discursive tradition. The tendency to condense and backward-project has not just been characteristic of modern Orientalist scholarship, however, but already features prominently in premodern accounts, on which 19th-century European scholarship depended. Thus, Christopher Melchert has convincingly argued that Western academic narratives of the formation of the schools of law were, in many ways, analogous to, if not based on, that first offered by Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muqaddima*, leading to a Mālikī bias that equated *ahl al-ḥadīth* with *ahl al-Ḥijāz* (hence leaving the puzzle of what to make of Iraqi traditionalism) and the downplaying of historical conflicts within the Muslim community at large and that of the *fuqahāʾ* in particular. See Melchert, *Formation*, xvii-xx.

12 See, for instance, Hallaq's critique, From regional to personal schools of law?; and *idem*, *Origins and Evolution*, 153-167; for a defense of Schacht, see El Shamsy, *Canonization*, 42; a good example for the elaboration and substantial refinement of some of Schacht's basic assumptions, see Melchert, Basra and Kufa, 173-194; for a general overview of the debate, see Powers, Schools of law, 41-55, as well as Sheibani *et al.*, Classical period, 412-423.

13 Thus, "the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd shows that he considered the Ḥanafī school Baghdadi, not Kufan. *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa wa-l-tārīkh* of Fasawī shows that the Kufan background to Ḥanafī jurisprudence, together more generally with the identification of Kufa with *raʾy* and Medina with *ḥadīth*, emerged only later in the ninth century." See Melchert, How Ḥanafism came to originate in Kufa, 318. Cf. also his more recent revisiting of the topic in The early Ḥanafiyya, 23-45, where he restates the case that "Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf, and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804-5) all seem to have done their most important work in Baghdad and [...] Kufan followers of theirs are practically impossible to find in early biographical dictionaries" (p. 24).

The first step in the articulation and demarcation of a discrete body of Ḥanafī school doctrine goes back to the literary activities of Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples, Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/795) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805).[14] As the Ḥanafī canon came to develop over the centuries, it was six works attributed to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, in particular, that came to hold a place of special importance in the wider tradition.[15] These were: (i) *al-Mabsūṭ* (*Kitāb al-aṣl*), (ii) *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, (iii) *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, (iv) *al-Siyar al-kabīr*, (v) *al-Siyar al-ṣaghīr*, and (vi) *al-Ziyādāt*. For later Ḥanafīs, these works comprised the so-called *ẓāhir al-riwāya* of the *madhhab*. Conventionally also labeled *ẓāhir al-madhhab*, this technical term came to denote the corpus of authoritative legal positions, attested through uninterrupted and faultless chains of transmission, as presented in the six works attributed to al-Shaybānī and understood to represent the foundation of the *madhhab*'s binding precedent.[16] In the later tradition, they were juxtaposed to positions transmitted as *nawādir*, that is, opinions handed down through single *isnād*s (and therefore less authoritative) in (other) works, also attributed to al-Shaybānī: (i) *al-Kaysāniyyāt*, (ii) *al-Raqiyyāt*, (iii) *al-Jurjāniyyāt*, and (iv) *al-Hārūniyyāt*.[17]

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14 For Abū Yūsuf, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 611-613; Wheeler, Abū Yūsuf; Öğüt, Ebû Yûsuf; and Sezgin, *Arabisches Schrifttum*, vol. 1, 419-421. For Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 122-125; Chaumont, al-Shaybānī, 405-407; Taş and Özşenel, Şeybânî, 38-43; Sezgin, *Arabisches Schrifttum*, vol. 1, 421-433. The earliest generation of followers of Abū Ḥanīfa moreover included figures such as Zufar b. al-Hudhayl (d. 158/775), who was mainly active in Baṣra, Dāwūd al-Ṭāʾī (d. 165/781), Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (d. 199/814), Asad b. ʿAmr (d. 190/806), Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʾluʾī (d. 204/819). See Schacht, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, 124. Of these, Zufar and Ḥasan b. Ziyād are usually considered the most significant in the later tradition, ranking among the first "class" (Ar. *ṭabaqa*) of Ḥanafī *fuqahāʾ* in the biographical dictionaries, alongside Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī. See for instance, Flügel, *Classen*, 281-286.

15 The notion of a "canon" and historical processes of canonization have begun to receive more pronounced scholarly attention in the field of Islamic studies in the last few decades. In the case of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the Ḥanafī tradition, in particular, see Brannon M. Wheeler, *Applying the Canon*. In his work on the "birth of classical Islamic law" in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, Ahmed El Shamsy has emphasized the fact that "canonization transcends the mere codification of sacred texts in fixed textual form and focuses instead on the relationship of the Muslim community to these texts as sources of norms". See El Shamsy, *Canonization*, 4. Eirik Hovden's project on canonization and codification in Islamic law (CanCode) at the University of Bergen has emphasized crucial underlying processes of selection, validation, and authorization of jurisprudential knowledge in a variety of historical settings (early modern Yemen, modern East Africa, contemporary Egypt, Israel/Palestine, and Europe), to illustrate Islamic legal change at work. Moreover, Norbert Oberauer's recent survey of Shāfiʿī doctrine on the question of commercial partnership highlights the "stabilizing" function of canonization in the formation of the *madhāhib* as "distinct networks of intertextual references". See Oberauer, Canonization, 123.

16 For the best discussions to date of the term *ẓāhir al-riwāya*, see Younas, Authority, 58-122, and Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 151-155.

17 Al-Shaybānī's *al-Amālī* and *al-Mujarrad* are often added to this list; sometimes, in fact, *all* works of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (save the six ones that constitute the *ẓāhir al-madhhab*) are considered to belong to the category of the *nawādir*. Cf., for instance, Nadwi, Review of *Islamic Legal Interpretation*, 59: "In fact, the term [*nādir al-riwāya*] was used in Ḥanafī *fiqh* in contradistinction to *Ẓāhir al-riwāya* which specifically meant citations (rather than 'views') from any of Imām Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī's six books […]. *Nādir al-riwāya* specifically meant citations from any other of his books." Talal Al-Azem has argued that "the defining of the process of *tarjīḥ al-riwāyāt* as requiring knowledge of a hierarchy of works (as opposed to the oral or written transmission of individual legal opinions) – the '*kutub ẓāhir al-riwāya*' versus the '*kutub al-nawādir*' and the '*wāqiʿāt*' – was a matter that apparently developed, or was only made explicit, at a historical juncture following Qāḍīkhān", i.e., in or after the 6th/12th century. See Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 151-152. Related to these, the concepts of *wāqiʿāt*, *nawāzil*, and *fatāwā* are likewise in need of detailed study.

Having originated in Iraq, Ḥanafī doctrine (or, perhaps more accurately, the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa and his earliest disciples) soon spread to other regions of the empire, both east and west. As Wilferd Madelung has shown, this process had already started during Abū Ḥanīfa's lifetime.[18] Nurit Tsafrir has detailed the early spread of the Ḥanafiyya not only in Iraq, but also in western Iran, the Jazira, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib, pointing out that "at the beginning of this process, in the second half of the second century/768-815, we can discern the existence and spread of Ḥanafī material – traditions with Ḥanafī chains of transmission, or legal material carrying the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa or his close pupils – more clearly than the actual existence of Ḥanafīs or Ḥanafī communities".[19] These communities would, however, gradually emerge. In fact, Ḥanafī doctrine itself would take time to develop, as scholars of varying backgrounds debated the positions of the "great *imām*" and his followers. The picture was thus a dynamic one: we should not think of a stable and fully formed doctrine spreading to different locations, but of a set of positions developing *as* they spread; it was through spreading in the particular way they did that the early theological and legal positions of Abū Ḥanīfa and his disciples came to coagulate into Ḥanafī "doctrine", that is, a coherent and agreed upon set of norms and methods for justifying or deriving them.

We have indications of Ḥanafī scholars and/or communities in various locations in Khurasan and Transoxania from relatively early on. Thus, from the late 2nd/8th century, for instance, *qāḍī*s in Balkh were exclusively Ḥanafī.[20] Indeed, "Balkh became the first major center of the Ḥanafiyya in the eastern Islamic world", as Madelung has shown.[21] This was due, in part, to the popularity of Murjiʾī teachings there (and *despite* the fact that the city seems to have been strongly opposed to the ʿAbbāsid cause).[22] Ḥanafī scholars also established themselves in other towns in eastern Khurasan and Transoxania, such as Marw, Tirmidh, and Juzjān, although without achieving the same sort of preeminence as in Balkh.[23]

During the Sāmānid period, from the late 3rd/9th through the 4th/10th century, Bukhara and Samarqand emerged as leading centers of eastern Ḥanafī learning – a position of predominance they would keep for more than half a millennium, in fact, surpassed initially only

18 Madelung, Early Murjiʾa, 34-38, focusing, in particular, on the case of Balkh; cf. also Madelung, Westward migration, 42.

19 Tsafrir, *History*, 116.

20 Madelung, Early Murjiʾa, 37.

21 Madelung, Westward migration, 42.

22 Madelung, Early Murjiʾa, 38. As we shall see below, the Ḥanafīs came to be closely associated with ʿAbbāsid rule in Baghdad. So, this early opposition seems, at first sight, counterintuitive, although Madelung explains it cogently in the context of local and regional politics. Regarding the connection between early Ḥanafīs and the Murjiʾa, it must be remembered that Abū Ḥanīfa was the most prominent defender of the doctrine of *irjāʾ* in Iraq at the time. The early Ḥanafiyya was considered a theological "*madhhab*" as much as a jurisprudential one. Indeed, the boundaries between the two fields were not as sharply drawn as they would be in later periods. Thus, *fiqh* meant not just legal "understanding", but also understanding in matters of belief, viz. theology. It is indicative that the earliest Islamic creeds – "Ḥanafī" ones, in fact – carried the title *fiqh*: *al-Fiqh al-akbar*, *al-Fiqh al-aswaṭ*, etc. Cf. Goldziher [Schacht], Fiḳh, 887: "fiḳh was used for religious science in general". For the later theological development and association of the Ḥanafiyya with Muʿtazilism, traditionalism and, eventually Māturīdism, see Madelung, Spread of Māturīdism.

23 Madelung, Early Murjiʾa, 38.

by Baghdad (until around the mid-5th/11th century) and only later supplanted by Istanbul in the early modern period. Apart from Samarqand and Bukhara, Khwarazm likewise emerged as an important hub of Ḥanafism in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, adding to the vibrant communities of Ḥanafī thought in the east at the time. As Madelung explains, "these local schools all developed and maintained their own distinct identity, though certainly not in complete isolation […]. As a group, they formed a tradition of eastern Ḥanafism as distinct from the traditions of Iraq, western Iran and other schools in the central provinces of the Islamic world."[24] Eyyup Said Kaya has likewise argued for the distinct character of the main regional "networks", as he calls them, represented by the traditions of Khurasan (centered on Balkh), Transoxania (centered on Bukhara/Samarqand), and Iraq (centered on Baghdad).[25]

It was Baghdad, however, the capital of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, where Abū Ḥanīfa had spent his final years, and where he was buried, that functioned as the main seat of Ḥanafī learning until the 5th/11th century. As the home of the ʿAbbāsids and foremost "metropolis of Islam", the city attracted scholars from all the major (and minor) theological and legal schools flourishing at the time.[26] Baghdad was thus not only a center of Ḥanafism, but also of Shāfiʿism and Ḥanbalism – the relationship between them being marked, more often than not, by competition and antagonism, at times even violent.[27] The Ḥanafiyya was notably favored by the ʿAbbāsids.[28] Indeed, ʿAbbāsid support can also explain how the school came to spread into Khurasan and Transoxania to begin with, according to Christopher Melchert.[29]

Some of the most prominent Ḥanafīs of the 2nd/8th, 3rd/9th, and 4th/10th centuries lived and worked in Baghdad: from Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805) in the 2nd/8th century, Muḥammad Ibn Shujāʿ al-Thaljī (d. 266/880) and Abū Bakr al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874) in the 3rd/9th century, to Abū Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/952) and Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ

24 Madelung, Westward migration, 42.

25 Kaya, Continuity and change, 27-28.

26 Madelung, Westward migration, 42.

27 The association of a given legal school with a given theological school was in some cases more straightforward than in others. Thus, Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism are usually considered to go hand in hand; although there *were* Shāfiʿī opponents to Ashʿarism, this was not a widespread phenomenon. Likewise in the case of Ḥanbalism, which can be seen as *both* a legal school and a theological one (albeit one hostile to theological speculation and, thus, disinclined to acknowledge as being engaged in *kalām* at all). In the case of Ḥanafism, the matter was more complicated. Indeed, while Ḥanafism was often associated with the Muʿtazila (or, rather, a large majority of Muʿtazilites embraced Ḥanafism), there also existed substantial numbers of Murjiʾite Ḥanafīs and traditionalist ones.

28 Tsafrir, *History*, 20-21 and 117-118, speaks of "a policy with broader aims". The issue was complex, however, as ʿAbbāsid support extended to traditionalist Ḥanafīs in some contexts and rationalist ones in others (i.e., supporting different camps at different times, in different contexts); see Melchert, Religious policies. For Hārūn al-Rashīd's "codification project", see Jokisch, *Islamic Imperial Law*. For the way Ḥanafī jurists themselves would come to articulate, on a normative level, the proper relationship between judges and the ruler, see Tillier, Judicial authority, 128-130.

29 Melchert, Spread of Ḥanafism, 22.

(d. 370/981) in the 4th/10th century.[30] The towering figure of the 5th/11th century, al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037), likewise came from, lived in, and died in Baghdad.[31]

One of the main questions regarding the development of Ḥanafī doctrine in this period pertains to the relationship between eastern Ḥanafism, as represented by the schools of Balkh, Bukhara, and Samarqand, and the tradition(s) of the central lands, that is, Iraq, and Baghdad, in particular.[32] As Madelung has argued, the Central Asian tradition seems to have made little impact on Baghdad initially, that is, from the early 3rd/9th to roughly the mid-5th/11th century, when the picture began to change.[33] We thus have, at first, different strands of Ḥanafī thought develop *in parallel* – strands that would be drawn on by Ḥanafī scholars of subsequent centuries, in diverse and intricate ways.[34]

By the middle of the 5th/11th century, a decisive change would take place, however. With the expansion of the Seljuq Turks from Central Asia into the core regions of the ʿAbbāsid empire, most notably Iraq, the center of gravity of the Ḥanafī school shifted as well. It shifted eastwards at first, although the overall change ultimately entailed also a westward migration of scholars *from* the east, leading to the dissemination of eastern Ḥanafī doctrine in the central Islamic lands and the fast rise to prominence of the traditions of Transoxania there – traditions that had, until then, been largely ignored.

The Oghuz Turks, of whom the Seljuqs were part, had been converted to Islam in the 4th/10th century. They strongly favored the Transoxanian Ḥanafī tradition, identifying Islamic orthodoxy with it, in fact, and patronizing eastern Ḥanafī scholars, who represented this tradition.[35] The Seljuqs thus actively supported Transoxanian *fuqahāʾ*, employing them as advisors, taking them with them and appointing them to key posts "as *qāḍī*s, preachers

30 For Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, see fn. 14 above. For al-Thaljī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 173-175; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 41; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 171-172, and Kallek, İbnü's-Selcî, 203-204. For Khaṣṣāf, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 1, ed. al-Ḥilw, 230-231; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 5; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 29-30. For Karkhī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 493-494; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 108-109. For Jaṣṣāṣ, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 1, ed. al-Ḥilw, 220-224; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 4; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 27-28.

31 See al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 1, ed. al-Ḥilw, 247-250; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 5; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 30-31; Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 23-31. Yaʿakov Meron has argued that al-Qudūrī's work represents the beginning of the "classical" period of Islamic jurisprudence. See Meron, Development of legal thought, 78.

32 Tsafrir, *Collective Liability*, offers a detailed discussion in chapter 8, extending the work of Madelung and others substantially.

33 Madelung, Westward migration, 42.

34 It is in the context of these parallel strands of the tradition that an important stage of the doctrinal and institutional development of the *madhhab* as a whole took place, however. As Said Kaya has argued, it was in the 4th/10th century that "juristic activity [...] entered a different stage", reminding us that it was in this period that the first epitomes (*mukhtaṣarāt*) and commentaries (*shurūḥ*) of the school were written, the first works of "general principles" (*qawāʾid*), the first *masānid* (i.e., works of *ḥadīth* for legal purposes), and the first works of specifically Ḥanafī legal hermeneutics (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). More so, it was also in this period that "for the first time some jurists were labeled as leaders of Hanafi scholars of their time", indicating a corresponding formalization on the social and institutional level. See Kaya, Continuity and change, 26-27. That all of this happened at a time when there were at least three distinct strands of the tradition developing *in parallel* is important to keep in mind.

35 Madelung, Westward migration, 43.

and teachers, preferring them to local Ḥanafī scholars where those were available".[36] The period witnessed the endowment of numerous Ḥanafī madrasas in Iraq and other regions, often with the explicit aim of supporting a particularly distinguished Ḥanafī scholar from the east. The patronage thus extended to Transoxanian Ḥanafīs "encouraged a steady stream of migration from Central Asia to western Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Anatolia during the Seljūq and post-Seljūq age".[37]

The significant shift brought on by the Seljuq expansion and the westward migration of Ḥanafī scholars and their works from the east to the central Islamic lands can also be observed on the level of doctrine. We thus begin to find an increased valorization of a hitherto neglected regional tradition in the scholarly milieus of the heartlands of the empire. The most prominent example embodying this move to center stage of Transoxanian Ḥanafism is the work of Shams al-Aʾimma Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, who died sometime around the turn of the 5th/11th to the 6th/12th century (ca. 490/1096 or 500/1106). Al-Sarakhsī was heir to the Transoxanian tradition; born in Sarakhs, in what today is the border region of Iran and Turkmenistan, al-Sarakhsī studied with Shams al-Aʾimma al-Ḥalwānī (d. 448/1056) in Bukhara and spent many years in prison in Ūzjand (Özkent), where he composed several works, including large parts of his magisterial *al-Mabsūṭ*.[38] Subsequent to his release and rehabilitation and the renewed honors bestowed upon him, al-Sarakhsī died in Farghāna around the turn of the 6th/12th century. His works, however, would rise to fame not only in the east, but also in the "two Iraqs" (western Iran and Iraq), Syria, Anatolia, and, later, Egypt.

Al-Sarakhsī's *al-Mabsūṭ*, fundamentally a commentary on al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī's (d. 334/945) *al-Kāfī*, constitutes a veritable *summa* of the "branches" (*furūʿ*) of Ḥanafī jurisprudence. As Norman Calder has argued, the work entailed a substantial reorganization and development of earlier Ḥanafī doctrine in light of the local Transoxanian tradition, on which al-Sarakhsī drew extensively.[39] The broad reception of *al-Mabsūṭ* by Ḥanafīs in regions other than the east is illustrative of the rise in esteem of the Transoxanian tradition

36 Madelung, Westward migration, 43.

37 Madelung, Westward migration, 43.

38 For al-Sarakhsī's life, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 78-82; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 38-39; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 158-159; Heffening, al-Sarakhsī, 169-170; Calder, al-Sarakhsī. Many aspects of al-Sarakhsi's biography, including the reason for and length of his imprisonment, remain unclear. For a detailed discussion of this episode, in light of the context of the political history of Karakhanid rule in Ūzjand/Özkent, see Hamîdullah, Serahsî, 545. It must also be pointed out that the *nisba* "Sarakhsī" pertains to various Ḥanafī *fuqahāʾ* besides Shams al-Aʾimma, thus making for possible confusion in the literature. This is the case, for instance, in relation to the relatively less prominent Raḍiyy al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī (d. 564/1155), author of *al-Muḥīṭ al-raḍawī*, and its abridgments, *al-Wasīṭ* and *al-Wajīz*. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 463, no. 375; Madelung, Spread of Māturīdism, 153-154; *idem*, Westward migration, 49. Raḍiyy al-Dīn taught in Aleppo in the early 6th/12th century and seems to be the "Sarakhsī" intended by Yaʿakov Meron in his discussion of classical Ḥanafīs in Ḥamdānid Syria. Meron, however, conflates Raḍiyy al-Dīn and Shams al-Aʾimma, stating that "Sarakhsī lectured at the 'Ḥalâwiyya' in Aleppo, and later, towards the end of his life, found himself [in] his native country, Fargana, a province of Transoxania, in Central Asia, where he underwent his legendary soujourn in prison". See Meron, Development of legal thought, 87. This "surprising" fact can quite easily be explained though, as a simple case of confusion (and conflation) of two very distinct Sarakhsīs.

39 See Calder, al-Sarakhsī.

at the time. More than that, al-Sarakhsī's work would prove to be of lasting influence on the development of Ḥanafī *fiqh* as a whole, well into the modern period.[40]

In addition, it was al-Sarakhsī, together with his teacher, Shams al-Aʾimma al-Ḥalwānī, who, according to Talal Al-Azem, "signal[ed] the true establishment of [the] guild model in Transoxania, heralding a new phase in the history of the Ḥanafī madhhab".[41] Thus on an institutional level, too, the shift "westwards" marked a new departure. Indeed, the significance of the transition brought about by the Seljuq expansion cannot be overestimated, both doctrinally *and* institutionally. As Al-Azem has shown, "[the] intellectual descendants [of al-Ḥalwānī and al-Sarakhsī], effectively *defined* the history of the madhhab forever after them, to the near exclusion of contemporary jurists from other geographical areas".[42] According to Al-Azem, this holds true even for branches of the Transoxanian tradition other than that of al-Sarakhsī, which the latter would come to supplant. It was thus through al-Sarakhsī "that the juristic chains of transmission of nearly all the major Transoxanian jurists [...] of the next three hundred years explicitly pass".[43] In particular, it was the *isnād*s of the three main Transoxanian Ḥanafī scholarly dynasties, the Ūzjandīs, Burhānīs, and Maḥbūbīs, that all go back to al-Sarakhsī.[44]

Yet we still do not understand many aspects of the interaction between the Iraqi tradition and that of al-Sarakhsī and his successors as it developed in Transoxania, western Iran, Anatolia, and ultimately Iraq itself. Indeed, the significance of various centers of Ḥanafī learning, as they emerged in the wake of Seljuq patronage in Western Asia, is still in need of critical scholarly investigation. In Syria, for instance, both Damascus and Aleppo began to function as important regional centers of Ḥanafism in the Seljuq and subsequent Zangid period.[45] Centered around newly established madrasas, such as the Ḥalāwiyya in Aleppo, built by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in 543/1148 (and exemplifying Zangid efforts to promote Sunnism in the capital of the formerly Shiʿite Ḥamdānid realm), Ḥanafism in the Transoxanian tradition in Western Asia in the 6th/12th century is probably best embodied in the life and work of Abū Bakr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1189), son-in-law of the preeminent Māturīdī theologian and Ḥanafī *faqīh* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 539/1144).[46] Al-Kāsānī's *summa* of substantive

40 Murteza Bedir, for instance, emphasizes the place of al-Sarakhsī's *al-Mabsūṭ* in the context of the issuing of *fatwā*s and legal interpretation more broadly in Iraq and Egypt, as well as Transoxania. See Bedir, *Buhara Hukuk Okulu*, 94.

41 Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 67.

42 Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 67.

43 Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 67.

44 Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 68.

45 Madelung, Spread of Māturīdism, 146-156.

46 Both father and son-in-law lived, studied, and taught, first in Transoxania, then in Anatolia (Konya) and ultimately in northern Syria (Aleppo). For ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 18; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 44; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 158-159. For Kāsānī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 4, ed. al-Ḥilw, 25-28; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 53. For the Syrian context, and its importance for the development of Ḥanafī doctrine, see Meron, Development of legal thought, 86-89; as well as Madelung, Spread of Māturīdism, 154. Clarifying a possible confusion regarding ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī and a lesser-known namesake of his, see Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 232, fn. 2. For the "theological turn" in Transoxanian Ḥanafism, represented, among others, by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, see Correa, Taking a theological turn, in particular 115-118.

law, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, conceived of as a commentary on his father-in-law's *Tuḥfat al-fuqahāʾ*, but going well beyond the latter in content, arrangement, and overall approach, represents a truly encyclopedic tour de force of Ḥanafī scholarship of all times.[47]

Indeed, the 6th/12th century was a truly fertile one for the Ḥanafī tradition, witnessing the most vigorous exploration and systematization of substantive doctrine in the works of pre-Mongol Ḥanafī *fuqahāʾ*. It was, moreover, a period that saw the production of works of lasting influence – works that were to shape the subsequent tradition of Ḥanafism in Western, Central, and South Asia well into modern times. Apart from scholars such as al-Sarakhsī and al-Kāsānī, there are a number of further figures epitomizing this "classical" era that need to be mentioned here in light of their lasting impact on the development of the tradition: Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Māza (d. 536/1141), also known as al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd or Burhān al-Aʾimma, whose *Kitāb al-wāqiʿāt* served as an important source for the preservation of early Ḥanafī legal opinions;[48] Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Manṣur al-Ūzjandī al-Farghānī, better known as Qāḍīkhān (d. 592/1196), author of the influential *Fatāwā Qāḍīkhān*, which would rise to particular prominence and popularity on the Indian subcontinent;[49] and, last but not least, Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197), whose *Hidāya* is probably the most widely disseminated and commented upon work of Ḥanafī *furūʿ al-fiqh* of all time.[50]

This is the larger context in which al-Mawṣilī's work must be understood: a high point of scholarly activity characterizing the Ḥanafī tradition of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries – no stagnation, decline, or decadence, as previous generations of Western scholars

47 No comprehensive study of al-Kāsānī's *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ* has been carried out to date. In fact, despite the monumental achievement represented by the work, it did not become object to an extensive commentarial tradition. Rather, it seems to have fallen into relative neglect in the centuries following al-Kāsānī's death, only to be resurrected in the early 20th century. Thus, de Bellefonds states: "The appearance at the beginning of [the 20th] century (1328/1909) of the first edition of the *Badāʾiʿ* quickly gave rise to a real excitement over this work amongst contemporary jurists, and it can be said that the teaching of Ḥanafī law became then completely polarised around it." De Bellefonds and Heffening, al-Kāsānī, 690. Al-Kāsānī's *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ* thus represents a significant example of the broader phenomenon of "the revival of works that had fallen into oblivion", so astutely identified and traced by Ahmed El Shamsy in *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*. For the quote, see p. 145, although the case of al-Kāsānī does not feature in El Shamsy's overall account.

48 See Tsafrir, *Collective Liability*, 113. For al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd's life and works, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 647-670; and Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 242. Mention should also be made here of Abū al-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Walwālijī (d. after 540/1146), a contemporary of al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd's whose *al-Fatāwā* were likewise of significance in "bringing together Iraqī Ḥanafī law and the legal opinions of eastern Iranian Ḥanafīs" (the latter at times differing considerably from the former). See Tsafrir, *Collective Liability*, 87-89.

49 For Qāḍīkhān's life, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 93-94; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 16; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 64-65; Özel, Kādihân, 121-123; Juynboll and de Bellefonds, Ḳāḍī Khān, 377.

50 Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, 466-469, and *GAL*, Supplement I, 644-649; Kallek, el-Hidâye, 471-473. Al-Azem calls *al-Hidāya* "perhaps the single most famous textbook of Ḥanafī *fiqh*". See his *Rule-Formulation*, 16. M. Qasim Zaman has highlighted its place among the "revered texts of the curriculum" of contemporary Muslim madrasa education, having served "for centuries […] as the cornerstone of legal studies in South Asian madrasas". See Zaman, Tradition and authority, 63-64 For its continued use in contemporary *sharīʿa* courts, such as those of the Taliban in Afghanistan, see Baczko, *La Guerre par le droit*, 214-215. For Marghīnānī's life, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 627-629; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 31; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 141-144.

would have it. Instead, the period immediately preceding al-Mawṣilī witnessed continuing adjustment, substantial and formal change, and new ways of systematizing Ḥanafī learning – all manifesting themselves in vigorous literary activity, despite the political upheaval of the time, that is, the immediate pre-Mongol period. It was this larger process that al-Mawṣilī was part of, even though the exact ways in which the various strands of the Ḥanafī tradition, as they developed and interacted at the time (in the works of, say, al-Mawṣilī's teachers and contemporaries), still need to be investigated.[51]

Life and Work of al-Mawṣilī (d. 683/1284)

ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd Abū al-Faḍl al-Mawṣilī al-Buldajī (or Baldijī) was born in the year 599/1203, in the city of Mosul, in northern Iraq, in the province of *al-Jazīra*, that is, Upper Mesopotamia.[52] His city of birth, Mosul, which al-Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) famously called "the gate to Iraq and the key to Khurasan" (*bāb al-ʿirāq wa-miftāḥ khurāsān*) can be seen as symbolic in several ways.[53] As the "gateway" to the east, and entrance point to the southern and western Islamic lands (depending on one's vantage point and direction), Mosul was, indeed, a key center of the Muslim *ecumene* of the late ʿAbbāsid period, economically, culturally, and politically speaking. Located in northern Mesopotamia, where major lines of trade, learning, and cultural exchange converged, at the intersection between Syria, Anatolia, Iraq, and Iran, Mosul straddled various cultural and political spheres – spheres that are reflected in al-Mawṣilī life and work as well. Bringing together and channeling the pre-Mongol Ḥanafī traditions of Iraq, Khurasan, and Transoxania, al-Mawṣilī would himself become a gateway of sorts, between east and west, his legacy representing a significant nexus in the history of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* at the transition into the Mongol period.

Early 7th/13th-century Mosul was ruled by the Zangids. Following two sieges of the city by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in 576/1182 and 579/1185, however, the rulers of the city officially recognized the authority of the Ayyubids. Ernst Honigmann described the political situation in Mosul at the time as follows: "From 607/1210-11 [...] Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ ruled over al-Mawṣil

51 Another figure to be investigated in this context is Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bukhārī al-Marghīnānī (d. 616/1219), whose work *al-Muḥīt*, commonly referred to as *al-Muḥīt al-burhānī*, would be a much-quoted source for later Ḥanafī authors of the premodern and early modern period.

52 The main sources for al-Mawṣilī's life and work are Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 4, ed. al-Kāẓim, 440-441; Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī, *Muntakhab*, ed. al-ʿAzāwī, 61-63; al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 349-350; Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 1, ed. Amīn, 90; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, vol. 7, ed. Amīn, 122-124; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 23; Ṭāshkūbrīzāde (Ṭāşköprüzāde), *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, vol. 2, 255; al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4, ed. al-Ḥilw, 239; Ḥājjī Khalīfa (Kātib Çelebī), *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, vol. 3, ed. İhsanoğlu and Marouf, 184, and vol. 6, ed. İhsanoğlu and Marouf, 321-322; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, 164; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 3, ed. al-Husaynī, 135; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 106-107. Bio-bibliographic entries on al-Mawṣilī and his works can also be found in the main reference works of the past century: al-Baghdādī (Bağdatlı), *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, vol. 1, ed. Bilge and İnal, 462; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, 476, and GAL, Supplement I, 657; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 4, 135-136; Kahhāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vol. 2, 295-296; Ṣāliḥiyya, *al-Muʿjam al-shāmil*, vol. 5, 191-192; al-Subḥānī, *Mawsūʿa*, vol. 7, 145-146; Yayalı, Mevsilî, 487-488; Özel, *Hanefi Fıkıh Alimleri*, 113-114. For a discussion of the vocalization and meaning of the *nisba* al-Buldajī, see the introduction of Bakdāsh in al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 9-10.

53 See Wüstenfeld (ed.), *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 4, 673.

first as vizier of the last Zangids and from 631/1234 as an independent ruler. In 642/1244 he submitted to Hūlāgū and accompanied him on his campaigns, so that al-Mawṣil was spared the usual sacking. When, however, his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl joined Baybars against the Mongols, the town was plundered in 660/1261-1262."[54] This was the year al-Mawṣilī is said to have moved to Baghdad, according to some of the biographical sources, although he had probably already spent some time there before that.

Born into a family of local Ḥanafī *fuqahāʾ*, the young ʿAbd Allāh first studied with his father, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd, a Ḥanafī jurist of eminence.[55] Abū al-Thanāʾ also instructed ʿAbd Allāh's three brothers, ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, ʿAbd al-Karīm, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, all of whom were to become prominent *fuqahāʾ* in their own right.[56]

From Mosul, ʿAbd Allāh is reported to have gone on to study in Damascus and Baghdad, although the sources do not allow us to establish a precise chronology of his travels and scholarly activities. Indeed, al-Mawṣilī seems to have moved back and forth between Mosul, Baghdad, Damascus, and Kufa, as Sāʾid Bakdāsh has maintained.[57] Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) provides an extensive list of figures on the authority of which al-Mawṣilī transmitted ḥadīth, based on an account by al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimyāṭī (d. 705/1305).[58] The list does not

54 Honigmann, al-Mawṣil, 900, citing van Berchem, Monuments et inscriptions, 197-210.

55 al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 452; cf. also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, vol. 13, 116. The honorific "Shihāb al-Dīn" is used at times for ʿAbd Allāh himself, rather than for his father. Ibn Kathīr refers to the latter as Abū Muḥammad rather than Abū a-Thanāʾ, but this seems to be an error. According to Ibn Kathīr, the father "had a madrasa in Mosul which was known by him" (*lahu bihā madrasa tuʿraf bihi*). A couple of accounts of al-Mawṣilī's life refer to him as having studied at a madrasa in Mosul called al-Madrasa al-ṣārimiyya. See Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī (d. 774/1372), *Muntakhab*, ed. al-ʿAzāwī, 61; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, vol. 7, ed. Amīn, 123. In both cases the mention of a madrasa by this name goes back to al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimyāṭī (for him, see below). No madrasa called Ṣārimiyya can be found in sources pertinent to Mosul, however, as Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī Faraj al-Mawṣilī has argued in *al-Āthār wa-l-mabānī*, 93, fn. 1. The name is attested, however, in the context of a Shāfiʿī madrasa in Damascus. See al-Dimashqī, *al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris*, vol. 1, 246-250. Since ʿAbd Allāh spent some time studying in Damascus the confusion might have arisen thus.

56 For ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 372. For ʿAbd al-Karīm, who taught not only in Mosul, but also at the shrine of Abū Ḥanīfa in Baghdad, like ʿAbd Allāh, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 453; al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4, ed. al-Ḥilw, 377-378. For ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who became *qāḍī* in Mosul, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 433; al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4., ed. al-Ḥilw, 355. The brother of Abū al-Thanāʾ, Masʿūd b. Mawdūd, is likewise found in al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 476.

57 Al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 13. Bakdāsh mentions Kufa, although al-Mawṣilī's appointment to the judgeship there happened later in life, when he was already well established in Baghdad.

58 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, vol. 7, ed. Amīn, 123-124. For al-Dimyāṭī, who is said to have studied with al-Mawṣilī (and whose students, in turn, included prominent figures, such as al-Mizzī, al-Dhahabī and al-Subkī), see Georges Vajda, *Le Dictionnaire des autorités*, 11-18. The sources usually speak of the act of audition (*samāʿ*), i.e., the oral transmission of a particular text from teacher to student, a process by which the latter "heard" it from the former. In what follows, I use the terms "teachers" and "students" respectively for those who transmitted, by reciting or reading a given text, on the one hand, and those who received that text, by listening to, or "hearing" it, on the other. When I say that al-Mawṣilī "studied" with a given scholar, or that a given scholar "studied" with him, I thus often translate the Arabic *samiʿa ʿalā* (though not always). What needs to be remembered in this context is that the English verb "to study with" (or the noun "student") usually implies a more long-term association than a single "audition". Using the English term "auditor" for *sāmiʿ* seems unsatisfactory in this context, however, for a number of reasons, including that it might convey an unwarranted sense of lack of commitment on the part of the auditor.

offer us any indications as to *when* al-Mawṣilī might have studied or received a particular text from a given scholar. It does give us useful hints, however, as to *where* he encountered particular teachers (Mosul and Baghdad, for instance, are cited explicitly in connection with certain figures). Moreover, al-Dimyāṭī's list identifies the origins of several of the authorities from whom al-Mawṣilī received permission to transmit, such as a group of scholars from Khurasan. As to *which* texts he heard from them, the list gives no indication.

In fact, most of the biographical sources we have for al-Mawṣilī remain silent on the sort of works he studied and heard. The one exception is the earliest account of his life: Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's (d. 723/1323) entry on al-Mawṣilī in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*. In it, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, the famous historian and long-time librarian of Baghdad's Mustanṣiriyya library, refers to al-Mawṣilī as "our teacher" (*shaykh*), reporting to have heard an important work in the field of ḥadīth transmitted by him. It is worth looking at Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's account in full:

> Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Dīn Abī al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd b. Buldajī – who came to live in Baghdad (*nazīl baghdād*) – the Mawṣilī, the judge (*qāḍī*), the ḥadīth transmitter (*al-muḥaddith*), the professor (*al-mudarris*).[59]
>
> Our teacher (*shaykh*), the *imām*, the scholar, the jurist, the judge arrived in Baghdad in the year 660 and acted as a witness with the judge of judges (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī in the year 673. He was appointed to the judgeship of Kufa and its districts. Subsequently, he was entrusted with teaching at the Mashhad of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, which is what he did until he died.
>
> He transmitted widely (*kāna wāsiʿ al-riwāya*, i.e., he transmitted a large number of texts, in various recensions), was characterized by understanding and knowledge, erudite in the branches of the law (i.e. in *furūʿ al-fiqh*, substantive doctrine) and in legal hermeneutics (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), and he had memorized a great deal.
>
> We heard from him (*samiʿnā ʿalayh*) the book *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl*, in his [i.e., al-Mawṣilī's] transmission (*bi-riwāyatih*), on the authority of its author, al-Mubārak b. al-Athīr, on whose authority al-Mawṣilī transmitted it, as well as on the authority of [al-Mubārak's] two brothers, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh.
>
> He [al-Mawṣilī] had heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī from Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Rūzbeh and Abū Bakr Mismār b. al-ʿUways;[60] the sermons of Ibn Nubāta (*al-khuṭab al-nubātiyya*) from ʿUmar b. Ṭabarzad; and the *Nahj al-balāgha* from the Naqīb Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.
>
> He traveled to Damascus (lit. Syria, *al-Shām*) and transmitted from (*rawā ʿan*) a group [of scholars from there].
>
> He is the author of a composition (*taṣnīf*) and he wrote [it] in his own hand, with permission, a long time ago (*wa-kataba khaṭṭah bi-l-ijāza qadīman*) (?).
>
> The following [scholars] gave him permission (*ajāza lahu*) to transmit on their behalf: Ibn al-Ṣaffār, al-Raḍiyy al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-Samʿānī, Zaynab bt. al-Shaʿrī, and others.

59 George Makdisi has argued that both the term *mudarris* and the term *shaykh* were "used to designate the holders of the topmost teaching level. Mudarris, when used *without a complement*, designated the professor of law; whereas shaikh was generally used for professors of all other fields [...]." See *idem*, *Rise of Colleges*, 153.

60 The printed edition reads Mismār b. al-ʿArīs. ʿArīs is a corruption of ʿUways, however. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 22, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, 154-155.

> He was born in Mosul at the end of Shawwāl 599. He died in Muḥarram 683 and was buried at the shrine of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy on him.[61]

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's entry is significant for a number of reasons. It situates al-Mawṣilī at the center of Baghdad's intellectual life immediately following the Mongol conquest of the city in 656/1258, giving important details as to the kinds of works al-Mawṣilī studied and taught over the course of his life. It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī places al-Mawṣilī in a network of scholars not exclusively or even predominantly Ḥanafī. Moreover, al-Mawṣilī's role as *faqīh* and *muftī* seems secondary; while his judgeship of Kufa and, before that, his role as a witness to the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Baghdad are mentioned, the extent of al-Mawṣilī's contribution to the field of *fiqh* is not obvious. Except for a very general statement that al-Mawṣilī was knowledgeable in both the *furūʿ* and *uṣūl*, we have no indication of the impact his work would ultimately have (and we know from al-Mawṣilī himself that, already during his lifetime, the *Mukhtār* was widely sought). Except for a cryptic reference to a "composition", no works of al-Mawṣilī's are, in fact, mentioned; nor are any texts he studied or transmitted in the discipline of *fiqh* itself, for that matter. The only hint that al-Mawṣilī must have been a serious authority in the field is the mention of his appointment as *mudarris* at the Mashhad of Abū Ḥanīfa towards the end of his life.

Instead of presenting a picture of al-Mawṣilī as a jurist first and foremost, al-Fuwaṭī presents him as a pious *muḥaddith* instead. Thus, we are told that al-Mawṣilī transmitted Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 606/1210) *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl*, a major ḥadīth collection, which consolidated materials from the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of Bukhārī and Muslim with the works of Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī, al-Tirmidhī, and Mālik: "a huge, multivolume work", that "became a much-used standard reference work", in the field of ḥadīth.[62] The great popularity of Ibn al-Athīr's *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl* in the Mongol period is illustrated, for instance, in the story of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), the famous vizier of Ilkhan Ghazan, ordering a copy of the work "to be placed in the mosque he endowed as a counterpart to the Quran".[63]

Next to this "counterpart of the Quran", Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions by name three other works al-Mawṣilī heard from particular authorities: (i) al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ*;[64] (ii)

61 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 4, ed. al-Kāẓim, 440-441.

62 Cf. Brown, *Hadith*, 57; and Rosenthal, Ibn al-Athīr, 723.

63 Brown, *Hadith*, 57. It might be significant that Ibn al-Athīr and his family hailed from Mosul, much like al-Mawṣilī and his. The parallel of multiple brothers engaged in scholarly activities in both cases (Majd al-Dīn, the more famous ʿIzz al-Dīn, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in the case of the Ibn al-Athīr family vs. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Karīm, and ʿAbd al-Dāʾim in case of the Mawṣilīs) is likewise of note, albeit coincidental.

64 According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, the two scholars al-Mawṣilī heard it from were Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Rūzbeh (d. 633/1236) and Abū Bakr Mismār b. ʿUways (619/1222). For the former, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 22, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, 387; for the latter, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 1, ed. al-Kāẓim, 485-486; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 22, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, 154-155.

the sermons (*khuṭab*) of Ibn Nubāta (d. 374/984);[65] and (iii) the *Nahj al-balāgha*.[66] This was pious stock material: the most important Sunnī ḥadīth collection, a popular collection of sermons, exhorting believers to fear God, observe His commands and call for His help and mercy, and the hugely influential collection of sayings, speeches, and letters of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad and first *imām* of the Shīʿa.

That al-Mawṣilī would have studied the *Nahj al-balāgha*, in particular, and that he would have done so with the Twelver Shīʿī Naqīb of Mosul, Abū al-Futūḥ Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar, to boot, certainly deserves our attention. Compiled by the Imāmī scholar and poet al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) in Baghdad at the turn of the 5th century AH (400/1010), the *Nahj al-balāgha* was revered not only by Shīʿī Muslims, but also by Sunnīs and Arab Christians, as Tahera Qutbuddin has pointed out.[67] The most prominent commentary on it, composed during al-Mawṣilī's lifetime, in fact, and also in Baghdad – Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's (d. c. 656/1258) *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha* – demonstrates the importance of the work in the context of the intellectual milieu of the city in the immediate pre-Mongol period. That al-Mawṣilī would have studied it in the first place, and with the Twelver Shīʿī Naqīb of Mosul, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad, also known as al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, is indicative of the fact that denominational boundaries were not an obstacle to learning – neither in Baghdad, nor in Mosul at the time.[68] Indeed, Sunnī scholars might "hear" Shīʿī texts from Shīʿī authorities and vice versa, and al-Mawṣilī was no exception to that.

To give an example of a prominent Shīʿī student of al-Mawṣilī, for instance, we might take Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāʾūs (d. 693/1294). ʿAbd al-Karīm was the nephew of the more prominent Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā (d. 664/1266), of the distinguished Ibn Ṭāʾūs family

65 These are exhortatory sermons in elaborate *sajʿ*, composed by Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥudhakī al-Fāriqī (i.e., from Mayyāfāriqīn in northern Mesopotamia), not to be confused with the (less pious) Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, a later descendant of al-Khaṭīb ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who lived in 14th-century Mamluk Cairo. For the latter, see Bauer, *Kultur der Ambiguität*, 324-339. With regard to the former, Marius Canard explains that his sermons "can be divided into three sections: (1) praise of God and prayer for the Prophet; (2) exhortation to fear God and the Last Judgement and to observe the moral and religious laws, in particular the obligation of the *djihād*; (3) petition for God's help and blessing […]. In addition, […] he often composed sermons for political occasions. His most famous sermons, the *khuṭab djihādiyya*, were written to exhort the population […] in the war against the Byzantines, and they aroused great enthusiasm." Canard also points out that the sermons "were collected and arranged together with some sermons by [Ibn Nubāta's] son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (*ca*. 390/999) and by his grandson Abū 'l-Faradj (*ca*. 420/1029) […] in about 629/1223", i.e., not long before al-Mawṣilī must have "heard" them from ʿUmar b. Ṭabarzad. See Canard, Ibn Nubāta, 900. For Ibn Ṭabarzad (d. 607/1210), from whom al-Mawṣilī transmitted the *Khuṭab*, see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, vol. 13, 61; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5, 61.

66 See below.

67 Qutbuddin, Nahj al-balāgha.

68 For al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawṣilī, who was a student of Ibn Shahrāshūb, one of the most prominent Twelver Shīʿī scholars of the 6th/12th century, see al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, vol. 6, ed. al-Amīn, 275-276, citing al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and al-Afandī al-Iṣfahānī; al-Subḥānī, *Mawsūʿa*, vol. 7, 76, no. 4143. Mosul, it must be remembered, had been ruled by the Ḥamdānids, a Shīʿite dynasty, before the Seljuq conquest and subsequent Zangid and Ayyubid rule, which led to an increasing "Sunnitization" of the city.

of Twelver Shīʿī sayyids of al-Ḥilla and Baghdad.[69] Having spent his youth in Ḥilla, ʿAbd al-Karīm came to Baghdad to pursue his studies of *fiqh*, among other disciplines, although he is said to have also been a poet and littérateur. His teachers (in both Ḥilla and Baghdad) included not only his famous uncle and father, Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāʾūs (d. 673/1274), respectively, but also other Shīʿī luminaries, such as al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), and Ibn Juhaym al-Ḥillī (fl. 7th/13th century).[70] al-Mawṣilī was thus in illustrious company as ʿAbd al-Karīm's teacher and the fact that ʿAbd al-Karīm studied with him probably explains (at least in part) why al-Mawṣilī would appear in later Shīʿī *ṭabaqāt* literature, such as al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's *Amal al-ʿāmil*.

Al-Mawṣilī also features in that literature as a transmitter of *Nahj al-balāgha*. For instance, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Afandī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1130/1718), a late contemporary and associate of the great ʿAllāma al-Majlisī al-thānī (d. 1111/1699), presents in his biographical dictionary *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ* a chain of transmission featuring al-Mawṣilī as having passed the text of *Nahj al-balāgha* on to a 6th/12th-century Bahraini Twelver Shīʿī traditionist, jurist, and theologian of note: Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham b. ʿAlī b. Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 681/1282).[71] Maytham, an exponent of what Ali al-Oraibi has called "the theosophical school" of Bahrain, not only "[expressed] admiration for certain Sunnī theologians", but "quotes Sunnī traditions, to the extent that it is said in Shīʿī circles that while the Sunnī Ibn Abī al Ḥadīd can be mistaken for an Imāmī, the Imāmī Maytham can be mistaken for a Sunnī!"[72]

Such Twelver Shīʿī–Sunnī connections were not unusual. In the later Ḥanafī tradition, however, they disappear from view. Certainly so in the case of al-Mawṣilī: from Ibn al-Wafāʾ al-Qurashī in the late 8th/14th century onwards, entries on al-Mawṣilī in Ḥanafī *ṭabaqāt* no longer mention any of his Twelver Shīʿī students or teachers, nor his transmission of the *Nahj al-balāgha* for that matter. This is significant; we wouldn't know of al-Mawṣilī's Twelver Shīʿī associates, or the wider scholarly context, from any of the main biographical sources of the Ḥanafī tradition: al-Qurashī, Ibn Quṭlūbughā, Taşköprüzade, al-Tamīmī al-Ghazzī, and Laknawī simply do not mention them.

In the context of al-Mawṣilī's own time and place, however, as well as in the immediate aftermath of his life, his Twelver Shīʿī teachers and students seem to have gone without need for further comment. Sectarian attachments, indeed, seem to have been of secondary importance in the transmission of certain kinds of knowledge. What was clearly more important were a scholar's regional and local connections. Thus, the man who transmitted the *Nahj* to al-Mawṣilī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar, was likewise a "Mawṣilī"; indeed, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar is referred to by that *nisba* in several of the sources. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd – that is, "our" Mawṣilī – might in fact have heard *Nahj al-balāgha* from Kamāl al-Dīn in Mosul itself, rather than in Baghdad. We cannot know this for certain, as the few sources available to us

69 See al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, 164; al-Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 3, ed. al-Husaynī, 247-248. For ʿAbd al-Karīm, in relation to Raḍī al-Dīn, see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 15, fn. 108, and p. 170.

70 Al-Subḥānī, *Mawsūʿa*, vol. 7, 123.

71 See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ* vol. 3, ed. al-Husaynī, 248.

72 Al-Oraibi, Rationalism in the school of Bahrain, 333, fn. 5; cf. also al-Oraibi, *Shīʿī Renaissance*, 52 and 162.

explicitly citing texts al-Mawṣilī heard and transmitted remain silent as to where he received and taught them. Even if "our" Mawṣilī read the *Nahj* with Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar in Baghdad, the reason he would have sought the latter's company and instruction there in the first place might very well have been their common Mawṣilī background, shared scholarly circles, and Mawṣilī acquaintances.[73]

With regard to the question of the development of the biographical tradition, there are two more students of al-Mawṣilī that are of significance for our understanding of the standard account of his life, as it came to crystallize in the mainstream sources. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī does not mention them, but their reports would – in one form or another – provide the basis for nearly all subsequent accounts of al-Mawṣilī's life, in Ḥanafī *ṭabaqāt* from al-Qurashī to al-Laknawī. They are Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Faraḍī (d. 700/1301) and al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimyāṭī (d. 705/1306).[74] Said to have studied with al-Mawṣilī, they do not appear in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, but in the second earliest source on al-Mawṣilī available to us, a selection of biographical entries from Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī's (d. 774/1372) continuation (*dhayl*) of Ibn al-Najjār al-Baghdādī's (d. 643/1245) history of Baghdad entitled *Taʾrīkh li-madīnat al-salām*, which, in its turn, was a continuation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 463/1071) monumental history of the city.[75]

Although a Shāfiʿī, al-Dimyāṭī came to hear al-Mawṣilī, possibly in Damascus, maybe in Baghdad – we do not know. Nor do we know which works he would have heard from al-Mawṣilī, but it was presumably in the field of ḥadīth rather than in *fiqh*. Al-Dimyāṭī provides an extensive list of al-Mawṣilī's teachers that both Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī and Ibn al-Taghrībirdī cite. It provides some interesting insights into al-Mawṣilī's scholarly pedigree:

> Al-Dimyāṭī [...] said: al-Ḥanafī [i.e., al-Mawṣilī was a Ḥanafī]; his *laqab* is Majd al-Dīn, son of the *imām* Shihāb al-Dīn, the *muftī*.
> He studied (*samiʿa*) in *al-madrasa al-Ṣārimiyya* [...] with ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭabarzad and Mismār b. ʿUmar b. ʿUways al-Nayyār the *Akhlāq ḥamalat al-Qurʾān* of al-Ajurrī; and with his father Maḥmūd [...].
> And in Baghdad with Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Abī al-ʿIzz al-Wāsiṭī] and Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. Rūzbeh [al-Qalānisī] the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī; and with the Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī, Abū al-Munajjā ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Lattī, Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Jīlī, and ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Sabtī.

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73 The common Mawṣilī background with the Ibn al-Athīr brothers is another case in point. Likewise, Abū Bakr Mismār b. al-ʿUways, from whom al-Mawṣilī heard Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see above, fn. 64, was a Baghdadi scholar who settled and died in Mosul. Ibn Ṭabarzad, another Baghdadi, likewise spent significant time in Mosul, although he might have encountered al-Mawṣilī in Damascus.

74 For al-Faraḍī, see al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 453-457; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 52; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 210-211. For al-Dimyāṭī, see above, fn. 58.

75 Assembled by Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429) and entitled *Muntakhab al-mukhtār* in the 1938 Baghdad edition by ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, the selection constitutes a veritable "Who's who" of Baghdādī *ʿulamāʾ* up to the 8th/14th century. For Ibn al-Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī, see al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 6, 124; for al-Fāsī, best known for his history of his hometown Mecca, see Rosenthal, al-Fāsī, 828-829. Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī, who like al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimyāṭī came from Egypt and settled in Damascus, was a student of the latter there. It is, hence, not surprising to find al-Dimyāṭī as a source on al-Mawṣilī cited by Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī.

> A group of Khurasanis (*jamāʿa min ahl Khurāsān*) gave him permission [to transmit on their authority] (*ajāza lahu*), among them al-Muʾayyad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, Abū Bakr al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Farāwī b. al-Ṣaffār, Abū al-Muẓaffar ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Samʿānī, and Zaynab al-Shaʿriyya.
> And from Baghdad [scholars who gave him permission to transmit on their authority included]: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Akhḍar, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Sukayna, and Ḥanbal [b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Faraj al-Ruṣāfī].
> And from Mosul: the author of *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl*, al-Mubārak [Ibn al-Athīr].
> He [i.e., al-Mawṣilī] transmitted many ḥadīth (*wa-ḥaddatha kathīran*, he transmitted a great deal in the field of ḥadīth) [...].[76]

The figures listed here are not cited in their capacity as Ḥanafī *fuqahāʾ*; they are cited in their capacity as ḥadīth transmitters (*muḥaddithūn*) and we can assume that the texts al-Mawṣilī received permission to transmit from them were collections of ḥadīth. It is noteworthy in this regard that although al-Dimyāṭī would be cited by later Ḥanafī sources, such as al-Qurashī and al-Tamīmī, the list itself would no longer be quoted by them. In fact, all mention of particular authorities al-Mawṣilī studied with would be discarded in the Ḥanafī biographical tradition, the one exception being Ibn Ṭabarzad. The latter, indeed, is the only teacher of al-Mawṣilī's, other than his father, explicitly named by al-Qurashī, Ibn Quṭlūbughā, and al-Tamīmī.[77]

The role of al-Mawṣilī as a transmitter of ḥadīth is significant, including in relation to his role as *faqīh*. Indeed, like a good number of post-classical Ḥanafī jurists, al-Mawṣilī might be seen as representative of a traditionalist current in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the nature and function of which has so far eluded our attention. It is only by looking more closely at al-Mawṣilī's works and their impact that we are able to gain a better understanding of that current and its importance for the development of Ḥanafī *fiqh* in the post-classical period.

As for Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Faraḍī, the other student of al-Mawṣilī's who is invariably quoted in Ḥanafī sources and more often than not verbatim, it is he who provides what eventually became the standard account of al-Mawṣilī's life:

> He [i.e., al-Mawṣilī] was born in Mosul, on a Friday, at the end of Shawwāl, in the year 599. He was a teacher, jurist, scholar, a distinguished man of learning, a professor – very knowledgeable in the *madhhab*. He was appointed to the judgeship of Kufa, then dismissed. He returned to Baghdad, where he was made professor at the Mashhad of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa,

76 Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī, *Muntakhab*, ed. al-ʿAzāwī, 61-62.

77 See al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 349; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 23; al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4, ed. al-Ḥilw, 239. For Ibn Ṭabarzad, see above, fn. 65. Laknawī does not mention Ibn Ṭabarzad; he instead mentions Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥaṣīrī al-Bukhārī, a prominent Ḥanafī *faqīh* with whom al-Mawṣilī studied in Damascus; see Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 106. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥaṣīrī should not be confused with Sarakhsī's student of the same *nisba*, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣīrī. Apart from Abū al-Thanāʾ, Ibn Ṭabarzad, and al-Ḥaṣīrī, the biographical tradition remains silent on the authorities al-Mawṣilī studied with or transmitted from, which is significant. Only Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī and Ibn Taghrībirdī provide al-Dimyāṭī's list, which is essentially one of ḥadīth transmitters. We thus know very little about al-Mawṣilī's teachers in *fiqh*.

> may God be pleased with him. He did not cease to issue legal opinions and teach until he died in Baghdad on the morning of Saturday, the 19th of Muḥarram of the year 683.[78]

The sources usually also report that al-Mawṣilī composed a number of works, although there is no unanimity as to exactly how many. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī speaks of one composition (*taṣnīf*), without giving a title. Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī lists five works by name: (i) *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*, (ii) *al-Ikhtiyār li-taʿlīl al-mukhtār*, (iii) *al-Mushtamila ʿalā masāʾil al-Mukhtaṣar*, (iv) *Masʾalat ghusl al-rijl*, and (v) *Masʾalat jawāz qirāʾat al-qurʾān ʿind al-qubūr*.[79] Al-Qurashī lists the first three of these, as do Ibn Quṭlūbughā and al-Tamīmī. Ibn Taghrībirdī likewise lists *al-Mukhtār*, *al-Ikhtiyār*, and *al-Mushtamil*, adding that al-Mawṣilī was also the author of "several other writings" (*wa-lahu ʿiddat taṣānīf ukhrā*).[80]

Of all of these, extant manuscript copies exist in great numbers for *al-Mukhtār* and *al-Ikhtiyār*.[81] As for *al-Mushtamila*, or *al-Mushtamil* as it is more often called, two manuscript copies seem to have survived: one in Istanbul and one in Mecca.[82] The two works mentioned by Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī entitled *Masʾalat ghusl al-rijl* and *Masʾalat jawāz qirāʾat al-qurʾān ʿind al-qubūr* might have been *masāʾil* of the *Mushtamil*, however, which for some reason or other Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī referred to separately in his entry; they might not have been considered to constitute separate, stand-alone books by other authorities, but we can only speculate. Kātib Çelebī moreover mentions a commentary by al-Mawṣilī on Muḥammad al-Shaybānī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*. No such work seems to have survived, however.[83]

A Work of Lasting Impact: al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā

The two main works that al-Mawṣilī would come to be known for are *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā* and *al-Ikhtiyār li-taʿlīl al-mukhtār*, the latter being an auto-commentary on the former.[84] Both works are extant in numerous manuscript copies, the earliest dating back to the 7th/13th

78 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, vol. 7, ed. Amīn, 122-123; with some variation in Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī, *Muntakhab*, ed. al-ʿAzāwī, 62; almost verbatim in al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 2, ed. al-Ḥilw, 349-350; without attribution to al-Faraḍī partly in Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Flügel, 23; likewise in al-Tamīmī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4, ed. al-Ḥilw, 239; and, again, verbatim, albeit without attribution to al-Faraḍī in Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 106-107.

79 Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Sallāmī, *Muntakhab*, ed. al-ʿAzāwī, 62.

80 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, vol. 7, ed. Amīn, 124.

81 Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, 476, and Supplement I, 657; al-Majmaʿ al-malikī, *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, vol. 1, 245-256; vol. 9, 180-194; and vol. 12, 373; Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt*, 23.

82 See al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 23-24. Brockelmann refers to the Yeni Cami 534 copy as *Kitāb al-fawāʾid*, which is, indeed, the title given: *al-Fawāʾid al-mushtamila ʿalā al-mukhtaṣar wa-l-takmila*; see *GAL*, vol. 1, 476. Most of the biographical sources that mention this work refer to it however as *al-Mushtamil ʿalā masāʾil al-mukhtaṣar* – the *mukhtaṣar* in question being that of al-Qudūrī.

83 Ḥājjī Khalīfa (Kātib Çelebī), *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, vol. 3, ed. İhsanoğlu and Marouf, 184.

84 The commentary is sometimes also referred to as *ʿIlal al-masāʾil wa-maʿānīhā*, owing to the fact that it was conceived of as explaining the reasons (*ʿilal*, sg. *ʿilla*) and meanings (*maʿānī*, sg. *maʿnā*) underlying particular legal rules. See, for instance, al-Andarpatī, *al-Fatāwā al-tātārkhāniyya*, vol. 1, ed. al-Qāsimī, 174.

century.[85] Both would have a lasting impact on the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the *Mukhtār* being considered one of the basic primers for the transmission of Ḥanafī school doctrine.[86]

According to al-Mawṣilī's comments in the introduction to *al-Ikhtiyār*, he composed *al-Mukhtār* in the prime of his youth. The work seems to have gained popularity quickly, being passed from hand to hand, to such an extent that al-Mawṣilī was asked to compose a commentary on it, to elucidate it. It is worthwhile considering his introduction to *al-Ikhtiyār*, as it gives us some indications for his reasons for his writing *al-Mukhtār*, as well as for the earliest phase of the text's transmission:

> In the prime of my youth, I had composed an epitome (*mukhtaṣar*) in jurisprudence for some beginning students (*baʿḍ al-mubtadiʾīn*) from among my companions (*aṣḥābī*, i.e., fellow Ḥanafīs). I called it "The select positions for issuing formal legal opinions" (*al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*). In it, I chose the positions of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy on him, since he was the first and the most appropriate. So when the hands of scholars passed it on, one after the other, and some jurists busied themselves with it, they asked me to expound on it by way of a commentary (*sharḥ*), in which I should indicate the underlying reasons of the legal issues presented in the book and their meanings [...][87]

Al-Mawṣilī explains that *al-Mukhtār* is a *mukhtaṣar*, that is, a particular kind of legal work, presenting the doctrine of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* in concise and summary fashion. According to Mohammad Fadel, the genre of the *mukhtaṣar* arose out of a need and desire on the part of the jurists to tame the sea of divergent juridical opinion, by creating uniform (i.e., practicable) rules. Limiting the tendency to indeterminacy which characterizes Islamic jurisprudential discourse, the *mukhtaṣar* thus came to represent the "authoritative collection of a school's legal doctrine".[88] In the context of the Ḥanafiyya, the emergence of the *mukhtaṣar* can be traced to at least the 4th/10th century: the earliest epitomes of Ḥanafī *fiqh* are Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī's (d. 321/933) *Mukhtaṣar*, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī's (d. 340/952) *Mukhtaṣar*, and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī's (d. 334/ 945) *al-Kāfī*. The best-known and most "classical" example of the genre dates to the first half of the 5th/11th century: al-Qudūrī's (428/1037) *Mukhtaṣar*, the epitome *par excellence* of Ḥanafī doctrine.[89]

Subsequent to al-Qudūrī, the production of Ḥanafī *mukhtaṣarāt* saw roughly 150 years of a lull, until the composition of ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī's (d. 593/1197) *Bidāyat al-mubtadiʾ*, the commentary upon which, likewise composed by al-Marghīnānī, would rise to fame as the most prominent Ḥanafī texts of all time, namely *al-Hidāya*.[90] Although somewhat less

85 See above, fn. 82.

86 See above, fn. 4.

87 al-Mawṣilī, *al-Ikhtiyār*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, 36.

88 Fadel, Social logic of *Taqlīd*, 193 and 197.

89 *Mukhtaṣarāt* were not immune from change over time, of course, but we still know far too little about the ways in which they evolved in both form and content to make any definite statements regarding the history of the genre.

90 See above, fn. 50.

prominent than al-Marghīnānī's *Bidāya* and *Hidāya*, al-Mawṣilī's *Mukhtār* – dating from about half a century after Marghīnānī's works – is comparable in the way its commentary, *al-Ikhtiyār*, was ultimately intertwined with the base text to such an extent that the former would usually not be consulted independently of the latter.

In his introduction to *al-Mukhtār*, written after the completion of the main text, but before the addition of letter signs to indicate divergences of scholarly opinion, al-Mawṣilī explains his reasons for composing the work:

> Someone whom I had the obligation to answer asked me to bring together an epitome (*mukhtaṣar*) for him in the jurisprudence (*fiqh*) of the *madhhab* of the greatest Imām, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, may God be pleased with him. [They asked me to do so by] limiting myself in it to his [i.e., Abū Ḥanīfa's] positions, so that it [i.e., the epitome] may be used in the issuance of legal opinions. So I composed this epitome for him, as he had asked and envisioned, and I called it "the select positions for the issuing of formal legal opinions" (*al-mukhtār li-l-fatwā*), because the positions [presented in the work] were chosen by the majority of jurists [of the *madhhab*] (*ikhtārahu akthar al-fuqahāʾ*) and agreed upon. When a group of jurists had memorized it, it became well known; word of it spread among [our fellow Ḥanafīs] and it became widely disseminated. When this happened, one of the noble sons of the offspring of my brother asked me to add signs to [the text] by which the legal positions of the rest of the jurists [other than Abū Ḥanīfa] could be known, so that the benefit [of the work] might increase and its usefulness be comprehensive. I answered his demand, hurriedly embarking to fulfill his desire [...][91]

Whether or not we are confronted with a rhetorical trope in al-Mawṣilī's statement of having been asked to compose this work by someone he could not refuse is ultimately immaterial. What is significant is that he declares that he had to *limit* himself to the positions of Abū Ḥanīfa, since these were most appropriate for the issuance of formal legal opinions. The exclusive focus on Abū Ḥanīfa (i.e., to the exclusion of the opinions of other early Ḥanafī authorities) seems new and indicative of a key trend arising at the time. Indeed, al-Qudūrī, in his *Mukhtaṣar*, still presented the positions of Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples, Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, as very much on par with those of their teacher. There is no sense of a priority given to Abū Ḥanīfa in al-Qudūrī, a point that would decidedly change with al-Mawṣilī and the subsequent Ḥanafī tradition.[92]

That dissenting opinions were not irrelevant to al-Mawṣilī either is clear in the demand to indicate "the legal positions of the rest of the jurists".[93] Indeed, one of the most striking features of the manuscript tradition of *al-Mukhtār* are the letter marks, usually in red or another color, highlighting divergent positions from those of Abū Ḥanīfa, that is, instances of disagreement between Abū Ḥanīfa's position and that of, say, al-Shāfiʿī, as much as

91 Al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 85-86.

92 I hope to show this in more detail in a forthcoming publication.

93 Al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 86.

disagreement between Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, Zufar, or other early authorities of the Ḥanafiyya.[94]

Textual History of al-Mukhtār *and its Commentary* al-Ikhtiyār

More than two hundred manuscript copies of *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā* are recorded in the catalogs of the main Islamic manuscript collections of the Middle East, Central Asia, Europe, and North America.[95] The earliest of these dates to al-Mawṣilī's lifetime: copied in Baghdad in 678/1279 (i.e., five years before al-Mawṣilī's death), it is held in the Turkish National Library in Ankara and comprises 92 folios.[96] The colophon of this manuscript reads as follows:

> The writing [of this book] was completed, praise be to God and for the good success [He has granted], by the weak servant [of God], in need of his Lord's mercy and forgiveness, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Murshid al-Nūshābādī, in the protected city, the House of Peace, Baghdad, in the madrasa built and known as al-Tutushiyya – may God fill the grave of the one who built it with light – and that [i.e., the completion of the manuscript happened] in the final tenth of the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year 678. God is our reckoning and the greatest of guardians. There is no power and no strength but in God, the High, the Great: May the prayer of God be upon Muḥammad, his family, and his companions, the pure ones.[97]

The copyist, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Ibn al-Murshid al-Nūshābādī is not known from the sources. His father, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Murshid al-Nūshābādī al-Bukhārī, however features in various Ḥanafī biographical dictionaries as the author of several works of Ḥanafī *fiqh*, including a summary of al-Qudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar* and a work on *uṣūl*, entitled *Kashf al-asrār*.[98] According to the sources, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar, as al-Nūshābādī senior was also known, studied with Shams al-Aʾimma Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Kardarī (d.

94 The Ḥanafiyya is often said to be characterized by a greater degree of internal heterogeneity than other legal schools. See, for instance, Heffening [Schacht], Ḥanafiyya, 163 ("[…] the uniform character of the doctrine is much less pronounced in the Ḥanafī *madhhab* than in the other schools"). Indeed, we find many instances of *khilāf* indicated in the text of *al-Mukhtār*. In most cases, however the disagreement is one between Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī. The marks were not, however, universally supplied in all the manuscripts. Numerous manuscript copies of *al-Mukhtār* exist that lack them.

95 Al-Majmaʿ al-malikī, *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, vol. 9, 180-194, lists 199 manuscript copies. This list is not complete, however. Browsing the catalogs of the main Islamic manuscript collections in Turkey, Europe, and North America alone brings out a whole range of copies not included in *al-Fihris al-shāmil*. A comprehensive count would need to be carried out, but goes beyond the confines of this paper.

96 Milli Kütüphane, Ankara, Çankırı İl Halk Kütüphanesinin Koleksyionu, Demirbaş No. 18 Hk 96, DVD No. 1560 (henceforth Çankırı 18 Hk 96).

97 Çankırı 18 Hk 96, fol. 92r: *tamma al-kitāb bi-ḥamd illāh wa-ḥusn tawfīqih ʿalā yad al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf al-muftaqir ilā raḥmat rabbih wa-ghufrānih ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Murshid al-Nūshābādī bi-maḥrūsat dār al-salām baghdād fi-l-madrasa al-maʿmūra al-maʿrūfa bi-l-tutushiyya nawwara allāhu ḍarīḥ munshiʾihā wa-dhālika fi-l-ʿushr al-ākhir min shahr rabīʿ al-awwal fī sanat thamāniwa-sabʿīn wa-sitt-māʾia, wa-ḥasbunā allāh wa-naʿīm al-wakīl, wa-lā ḥawl wa-lā quwwa illā bi-llāh al-ʿalīy al-ʿaẓīm, wa-ṣallā allāh ʿalā muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi al-ṭāhirīn*.

98 Al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, vol. 3, ed. al-Ḥilw, 290; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf, 272 (al-Nūjābādī); Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid*, 183 (al-Nūḥābādhī); al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 6, 313.

642/1244) in Bukhara, as well as with Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Akhsīkathī (d. 644/1247), before going to Damascus and eventually settling in Baghdad, where he is reported to have acted as *imām* of the Mustanṣiriyya mosque. Al-Mawṣilī's younger contemporary Ibn Sāʿātī is supposed to have studied with him, as did al-Mawṣilī's student Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Faraḍī. Al-Nūshābādī (or Nūshābādhī, as the *nisba* is also rendered) is said to have died in the year 668, that is ten years before his son ʿAlī would copy al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār* in Baghdad's Tutushiyya madrasa. As for al-Tutushiyya, it was founded by the Seljuq emir Abū Saʿīd Tāj al-Dawla Tutush (d. 487/1094), the son of Alp Arslan and brother of Mālik Shāh. Located near the more famous Niẓāmiyya madrasa, it was one of the colleges, which, according to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, resumed work after the conquest of the city by the Mongols fairly quickly, next to al-Mustanṣiriyya, al-Bashīriyya, and Madrasat al-aṣḥāb.[99]

On the margin of the manuscript, next to the colophon, there is a collation note, which reads as follows:

> The owner (*ṣāḥib*) of this copy, the jurist and scholar, ʿIzz al-Dīn Jamāl al-Fuqahāʾ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Murshid al-Nūshābādhī, may God Almighty grant him success for what would please Him, by Muḥammad and his family, collated this copy and its glosses with the original, in his own hand. It was thus corrected, to the extent that he was able to. Written by the poor one [...] on the ninth of Jumādā II of the year 678, in the protected city, Baghdad. Praise be to God [...][100]

Thus, from the last *ʿushr* of the month of Rabīʿ I to the ninth day of Jumādā II 678 AH, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Nūshābādī took just over two months and a half to collate his copy of al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār*.[101] The manuscript is replete with marginal glosses in al-Nūshābādī's hand, bearing witness to the process of collation. Indeed, we find innumerous textual corrections of different sorts, from the very first folio to the last, warranting a degree of scholarly attention that goes beyond the scope of this paper.[102]

The first extant manuscript copies of *al-Ikhtiyār*, al-Mawṣilī's commentary on *al-Mukhtār*, date to exactly fifteen years after this earliest copy of *al-Mukhtār*. This is some ten years after the death of al-Mawṣilī himself. We have two manuscript copies of *al-Ikhtiyār* dated to

99 al-Dūrī, Baghdad, 40.

100 Çankırı 18 Hk 96, fol. 92r: *qābala hādhihi al-nuskha bi-ḥawāshīhā ṣāḥibuhā al-faqīh al-ʿālim ʿizz al-dīn jamāl al-fuqahāʾ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Murshid al-Nūshābādhī, waffaqahu allāh taʿāla li-mā yurḍīhi bi-muḥammad wa-ālihi, bi-nuskhat al-aṣl bi-yadī, fa-ṣuḥḥat bi-qadr al-imkān, katabahu al-faqīr* [...] *fī tāsiʿ jumādā al-ākhira sanat thamān wa-sabaʿīn wa-sitt-māʾia, bi-maḥrūsa baghdād, wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh* [...].

101 While in the colophon the *nisba* Nūshābādī is spelt with a *dāl* (i.e. dotless, Ar. *muhmal*), the collation note clearly shows a *dhāl* (i.e. with a diacritical point, Ar. *muʿjam*), thus reading Nūshābādhī. For the different renderings of the *nisba* in the biographical literature, see fn. 98.

102 Examples of marginal glosses and correction abound: on fol. 1v the *ḥamdala*, for instance, has a sign of *saqṭa* next to it, indicating that part of the phrase, here given in square brackets, was initially dropped by mistake: *ashhadu anna lā ilāha* [*illā huwa*]. A little further down, on the same folio, an *ʿaṭfa* (i.e., the *signe-de-renvoi* for omissions, often in the form of a curved line) is found next to *fa-jaʿaltu lahu* [*hādhā*] *al-mukhtaṣar*. A comprehensive investigation of these marginal glosses is beyond the scope of this paper, but their ubiquity and potential significance for our understanding of scribal practices, generally, and the (juristic) content of texts such *al-Mukhtār*, in particular, should be duly noted.

693/1292 – one held in Cairo's al-Azhar library, the other at the Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin.[103] From the colophon of the Chester Beatty copy of *al-Ikhtiyār*, we are able to gain additional information regarding the textual history of both *al-Ikhtiyār* and *al-Mukhtār*. The copyist – a man by the name of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī – not only gives the date of his own copy, but also the date al-Mawṣilī had initially completed the text: Friday, 17 Jumādā II 653, which corresponds to 31 July 1255.[104] This was exactly two years and seven months before the Mongol attack on Baghdad. How much before that the base text of *al-Mukhtār* itself was composed remains subject to speculation. The Chester Beatty colophon provides us, at least, with a *terminus ante quem*, but since al-Mawṣilī declared that he wrote the *mukhtaṣar* in the "prime of his youth", *al-Mukhtār* seems more likely to have been composed sometime in the 1220s or 1230s.

As for the reception of both texts, it was immediate: apart from the 678/1279 copy of *al-Mukhtār*, chronologically, the next two extant copies date to 700/1300 (held in Baghdad and Berlin), followed by a copy from 706/1307 (held at Yale), one from 710/1310 (Ankara), then 742/1341 (Topkapı), 760/1358 (Cairo University), 764/1363 (Istanbul), 767/1365 (Mosul), 784/1382 (Ankara), 788/1386 (Dublin), and 790/1389 (Cairo, Dār al-kutub). Together with one more copy cataloged as dating from the 8th/14th century (held in Aleppo), that makes at least thirteen manuscript copies of *al-Mukhtār* dated to the 8th/14th century – a considerable number, by any count. Beyond that – that is, from the 8th/14th until the 19th century – the authors of *al-Fihris al-shāmil* count another 186 manuscript copies of the work.

Regarding *al-Ikhtiyār* the situation is similar: *al-Fihris al-shāmil* lists a total of 157 manuscript copies, the earliest of which dates to 693/1292 (Dublin), followed by at least eleven copies from the 8th/14th century: 710/1310 (Mosul), 731/1330 (Baghdad), 736/1335 (Beirut), 742/1341 (Leiden), 742/1341 (Leiden), 758/1357 (Princeton), 762/1360 (Istanbul), 777/1375 (Cairo), 787 /1384 (Ankara), 791/1388 (Baghdad), and one more undated copy cataloged as being from the 8th/14th century (Topkapı). Beyond that, at least thirty-four manuscript copies of *al-Ikhtiyār* date to the 9th/15th century, sixteen to the 10th/16th century, and so on, up to the 19th century.

Judging by these numbers, we seem to be confronted with a very popular work.[105] Apart from copies of the text itself, commentaries (*shurūḥ*) on it can likewise tell us a great deal about the reception of a work such as *al-Mukhtār*. Now, we have seen the wide dissemination of *al-Ikhtiyār*, the most important commentary (*sharḥ*) on *al-Mukhtār*, which was copied almost as often as *al-Mukhtār* by itself. Next to it, the 11th/17th-century Ottoman biographical encyclopedia of the sciences by Kātib Çelebī (d. 1068/1657), *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, lists at least eleven other commentaries on *al-Mukhtār*. Sāʾid Bakdāsh adds to these another five in the

103 Al-Majmaʿ al-malikī, *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, vol. 1, 245; Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 7, 113, no. 5370.

104 Al-Mawṣilī, *al-Ikhtiyār*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, 23: *wa-kāna firāgh muʾallifih minhu yawm al-jumʿa sābiʿ ʿashar min jumādā al-ākhira, sanat thalāth wa-khamsīn wa-sittmāʾia*.

105 Printed copies, such as the 1355/1936 edition of *al-Ikhtiyār* by Maḥmūd Abū Daqīqa published by al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in Cairo, are relatively late, compared to other "classics" of the school – a fact that might tell us something about the attitude of modernist Muslims toward works of "decadence" (*inḥiṭāṭ*), of which *al-Mukhtār* may have counted as one.

introduction to his edition of *al-Mukhtār*, making for a total of seventeen commentaries at least.[106] Some of these are known by citation only, others are extant, but unedited;[107] some of them cover particular "books" of *al-Mukhtār* only, such Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAynī's (d. 893/1488) *Sharḥ kitāb al-farāʾiḍ min al-Mukhtār*;[108] the greatest part of them, however, expound upon the entire text.

The most important of these (but also still unedited) is Çivizāde Muḥyī al-Dīn Meḥmed Efendī's (d. 954/1547) *al-Īthār li-ḥall al-Mukhtār*. Çivizāde, who rose through the upper echelons of the Ottoman learned hierarchy to become judge of Cairo, chief judge (*qāḍī ʿasker*) of Rumelia, then Anatolia, and, ultimately, *shaykh al-islām* of the empire – the highest possible official position for an Ottoman jurist at the time – was known for his vociferous criticism of a range of Ottoman state practices, such as the cash *waqf*.[109] Çivizāde's composition of a commentary on al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār* is an indication of the value attributed to it, as commentaries by prominent *ʿulamāʾ* were often prestige projects on texts of extremely widespread dissemination. This was most often the case for the Qurʾān, as works of *tafsīr* offered high-ranking *ʿulamāʾ* the opportunity to leave a lasting learned legacy. However, commentaries on particular ḥadīth collections or teaching texts (*mutūn*) in logic or jurisprudence were likewise popular.

That *al-Mukhtār* began to be used as a teaching text is illustrated by the fact that a versified commentary (*manẓūma*) was produced on it, too – a clear indication that the text was supposed to be memorized.[110] Moreover, specific aspects of the text would draw the attention of scholars, such as al-Mawṣilī's use of *ḥadīth* in *al-Ikhtiyār* to illustrate particular legal positions presented in *al-Mukhtār*. Thus, Ibn Quṭlūbughā would compose an entire work devoted to al-Mawṣilī's choice of *ḥadīth* to explain the underlying reasons (*ʿilal*, sg. *ʿilla*) for the positions of Abū Ḥanīfa, entitled *al-Taʿrīf wa-l-ikhbār bi-takhrīj aḥādīth al-ikhtiyār*.[111]

The question of why *al-Mukhtār* would rise to such success cannot be answered in simple terms. On the one hand, the text seems to have fulfilled a particular need at the time. Thus, al-Mawṣilī insists that his intention was to satisfy a particular request, to present the positions of the *madhhab*, as embodied in the legal opinions of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa alone, in succinct fashion for beginners. And, to be sure, *al-Mukhtār* would rise to prominence as one of the basic primers (*mutūn*) of the Ḥanafī school in doing exactly that. The move to an exclusive focus on Abū Ḥanīfa as the source of the *madhhab*'s binding precedent for the issuance of formal legal opinions (*fatwā*s) is central in this regard and might constitute one

106 See al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 25-34.

107 Among the extant but unedited works is a *Sharḥ* by a certain Khaṭṭāb b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Qaraḥiṣārī al-Rūmī (d. 730/1330), who in great likelihood was a student of al-Mawṣilī's and is said to have also composed a *Sharḥ* on Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī's *Kanz al-daqāʾiq*, as well as on the latter's *al-Manār fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. See al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 27-28. Some citations in Ḥājjī Khalīfa seem spurious, such as the mention of Zaylāʿī as an author of a *Sharḥ* on *al-Mukhtār*.

108 Not to be confused with the more famous and slightly older Badr al-Dīn (Tr. Bedreddin) al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1455).

109 See Mandaville, Usurious piety, 297-301.

110 See Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Sinjārī's (d. 800/1398) *Naẓm al-mukhtār*, as cited in al-Mawṣilī, *al-Mukhtār*, ed. Bakdāsh, 30.

111 See Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *al-Taʿrīf*, ed. Yaʿqūbī.

of the defining features of post-classical Ḥanafī *fiqh*, as it took shape in the Mongol and post-Mongol period.

In terms of content, *al-Mukhtār* covers the entire gamut of the "branches" (*furūʿ*) of substantive doctrine in fairly conventional thematic arrangement: from ritual law (purity, prayer, etc.), commercial law (sales, pre-emption, rental, etc.), court procedure, personal status law (marriage, divorce, etc.), and criminal law (e.g. torts), to the law of succession and inheritance.[112]

On the basis of an examination and comparison of the sections on fornication (*zinā*) in various works of Ḥanafī *fiqh*, Norman Calder argued that al-Mawṣilī in fact closely followed the selections and summaries of al-Qudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar*, often verbatim.[113] According to Calder, "the changes that Mawṣilī introduced to his text demonstrate, in part, a search for greater precision and refinement of expression; in part, an extension of detail".[114] Both al-Qudūrī and al-Mawṣilī in this sense represent "attempt[s] to summarise and clarify the principles behind a larger and less organized bundle of rules contained in the foundational texts of the Ḥanafī tradition".[115] However, whether it is really not possible to "discover any reference to the legal or penal practice of their time or any intermediate time", as Calder maintains, remains open to debate. The effort to do so has, so far, barely been made. Indeed, as this paper has tried to argue, it should prove fruitful to try to situate works of *fiqh* in their actual historical context, to see if such references might not, after all, be found.

The Ḥanafī madhhab *of the Post-classical, viz. Mongol, Period*

Returning to the history of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, we may observe, in the period of al-Mawṣilī and the century subsequent to him, a trend to (or, rather, a distinct moment of) "epitomization" of school doctrine: the desire to state the principal positions of the *madhhab* in succinct and unambiguous fashion – a desire which found expression in the production of texts (*mukhtaṣarāt*/*mutūn*) of enduring influence. Certainly, it is not by coincidence that four of the most fundamental primers of the Ḥanafī school were composed in this very period: al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār*, Ibn Sāʿātī's *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī's *Kanz al-daqāʾiq*, and Burhān al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī's *Wiqāyat al-riwāya*.

Moreover, the fact that the binding precedent of the school itself would, ever increasingly, come to be identified with, and limited to, the positions of Abū Ḥanīfa (to the exclusion of those of his disciples) is a feature of the period that needs to be studied in much more systematic fashion. Together with the phenomenon of the production of epitomes, the increasing

112 The "books" of *al-Mukhtār* are arranged as follows: *al-ṭahāra – al-ṣalāt – al-zakāt – al-ṣawm – al-ḥajj – al-buyūʿ - al-shufʿa – al-ijāra – al-rahn – al-qisma – adab al-qāḍī - al-ḥajr – al-maʾdhūn – al-ikrāh – al-daʿwā – al-iqrār – al-shahādāt – al-wakāla – al-kafāla – al-ḥawāla – al-ṣulḥ – al-sharika – al-muḍāraba – al-wadīʿa – al-laqīṭ - al-luqṭa – al-ābiq – al-mafqūd – al-khunthā – al-waqf – al-hiba – al-ʿāriya – al-ghaṣb – iḥyāʾ al-mawāt – al-shirb – al-muzāraʿa – al-musāqāt – al-nikāḥ – al-riḍāʿ – al-ṭalāq – al-ẓihār – al-liʿān – al-ʿitq – al-mukātab – al-walāʾ – al-aymān – al-ḥudūd – al-ashriba – al-sariqa – al-siyar – al-karāhiyya – al-ṣayd – al-dhabāʾiḥ – al-aḍḥiya – al-jināyāt – al-diyāt – al-waṣāyā – al-farāʾiḍ.*

113 Calder, Ḥanafī law on fornication, 24.

114 Calder, Ḥanafī law on fornication, 28.

115 Calder, Ḥanafī law on fornication, 28.

focus on the "great *Imām*" is thus key to our understanding of the historical development of the *madhhab* in the Mongol era.

The 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries – that is, the period straddling the Mongol invasion and subsequent Mongol rule over the eastern and central lands of the Islamic ecumene – largely corresponds to what Talal Al-Azem has identified and labeled as the "period of *taṣḥīḥ*" in Ḥanafī *fiqh*: the period of "reviewing, correcting and emending the legal rules formulated by preceding jurists of *tarjīḥ*".[116] As opposed to the "rule-formulation" of earlier centuries, this age of "rule-review", as Al-Azem calls it, entailed the affirmation as "correct" of opinions previously chosen as binding (or, alternatively, their rejection and the concomitant presentation of dissenting opinions, in case of disagreement).[117] Al-Mawṣilī, Ibn Sāʿātī, Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī, and Burhān al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī all fall squarely within that framework.[118] Approaches such as Al-Azem's, when brought into conversation with case studies focused on individual jurists and their works, and comparative investigations of circumscribed topics from the large field of positive law, such as Calder's, can give us a much better sense of the historical development of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* at this crucial period of transition.

In the time that followed the Mongols, a great deal of commentarial activity upon the texts produced in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries can be discerned. Indeed, the works composed at the time would continue to be studied until the modern period. New handbooks, primers, and abridgments also arose, as well as numerous commentaries upon them.[119] However, the four *mutūn* of the Mongol period, together with al-Qudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar* and al-Marghīnānī's *Hidāya*, would in many ways continue to constitute the mainstay for teaching and reference in the Ḥanafī school well into the 20th century.[120]

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116 Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 77.

117 Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 84.

118 Although Al-Azem points out that "the dominant activity by which each period was characterized was not necessarily confined to that period alone", his periodization on the basis of Ḥanafī "typologies" of jurists is compelling. The same goes for his analysis of historical patterns of geographic distribution and movement of Ḥanafī jurists, in particular his emphasis on the "central role eastern scholars, and especially the Bukharans, played in the development of the *madhhab* of the post-classical period"; Al-Azem, *Rule-Formulation*, 92.

119 Thus, in the 9th/15th century, the Ottoman jurist Mollā Khusraw (Tr. Hüsrev; d. 885/1480) composed *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām*, which gave rise to a host of commentaries, including the influential *Ghunyat dhawī al-iḥkām* of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār al-Shurunbulālī (d. 1069/1659). Likewise, a century later, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Timurtāshī's (d. 1006/1598) *Tanwīr al-abṣār wa-jāmiʿ al-biḥār*, a concise handbook for the use of jurisconsults and judges, spawned numerous commentaries, among which featured, most prominently, al-Haṣkafī's (d. 1088/1677) *al-Durr al-mukhtār*, which, in turn, formed the basis for Ibn ʿĀbidīn's (d. 1252/1836) seminal *Radd al-muḥtār*. Finally, among the key texts of the early modern period, Ibrahīm al-Ḥalabī's (d. 956/1549) *Multaqā al-abḥur* would rise to become what was, arguably, the most popular primer of Ḥanafī substantive doctrine in the Ottoman Empire. Based on al-Qudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar*, al-Mawṣilī's *Mukhtār*, al-Nasafī's *Kanz al-daqāʾiq*, and Burhān al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī's *Wiqāyat al-riwāya*, it constituted a sort of "*mukhtaṣar* of *mukhtaṣar*s" of the Ottoman Ḥanafī tradition and is a good example for the fact that the drive to epitomize was in no way restricted to the periods under investigation here.

120 Cf. Samy Ayoub, *Law, Empire and the Sultan*, 36: "The legal works *Kanz al-Daqāʾiq*, *al-Wiqāya*, *al-Mukhtār*, and *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* are the particularly prominent texts to which late Ḥanafīs dedicated specialized commentaries and on which they relied heavily in their legal scholarship."

In terms of the *longue durée* development of the *madhhab*, the 6th/12th-8th/14th centuries were a period of significant consolidation, systematization, and refinement. On a doctrinal level, this process was seemingly unaffected by Mongol conquest and rule though. There was certainly no rupture; if anything, we may observe a hunkering down. How can this be explained? Norman Calder, for instance, believed that Ḥanafī *fiqh*, much like the *fiqh* of any other of the schools, essentially constituted a "self-referential" literary tradition, impervious to the vagaries of history. And, indeed, in reading the texts under consideration in this article, one would not get a sense of the enormous political, social, and cultural transformations of the Mongol period at all; upheaval and change are left shut out entirely. We are confronted with continuity instead, in the immediate as much as in the long-term aftermath of the conquests.

And, yet, the potential *longue durée* impact of Mongol rule on Ḥanafī jurisprudence has inspired scholarship in the field in recent years. Thus, Guy Burak, for instance, speaks of a "second formation of Islamic Law" in the post-Mongol context, arguing that the period witnessed the emergence of a new kind of relationship between the "state" (or "sovereign") and jurists' law (*viz. fiqh*), as embodied in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also in various other parts of the Islamic east – in Central Asia, as much as Mughal India. The development of new legal hierarchies, the rise of notions of dynastic law and, with them, the establishment of "state *madhhabs*", such as that of the Ḥanafiyya in the Ottoman Empire, thus characterized the legal landscape of the polities of the early modern Islamic world.

Of course, the category "post-Mongol" may ultimately be too vague to function as a meaningful determinant of difference when it comes to describing and analyzing the substantial development of a largely "self-referential" tradition, such as that of *fiqh*. The truth is that we have of a large amount of source material when it comes to Ḥanafī jurisprudential literature of the post-classical period – material that has barely begun to be studied and, if so, only within the seemingly immutable and decidedly ahistorical category of "premodernity". What is needed, to show the distinctions of premodernity in all their complexity, is the detailed study of texts – careful, close reading, comparison, and juxtaposition of individual texts – to see the broad outlines of the larger tradition of Ḥanafī *fiqh*, as it evolved over time (and not impervious to history).[121] The aim of this article has been to introduce al-Mawṣilī's *al-Mukhtār* as an important source to illustrate the history of post-classical Ḥanafī jurisprudence as a productive field of exploration: a probing into a source and into a topic that are both, ultimately, in need of much further investigation.

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121 An example of such is Samy Ayoub's impressive chapter on Ibn Nujaym in *Law, Empire, and the Sultan*, 31-63.

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The Ṣābiʾ Family Library of Thābit ibn Qurra's Works in Baghdad

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Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 901 CE) was one of the notable scholars studying Greek science and philosophy in the early Abbasid period. He is especially known for his translations of important Greek scientific works. He established a family in Baghdad (the so-called "Ṣābiʾ family"), and the members of this family survived as court scholars, among whom was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 994), a great-grandson of Thābit, who became the head secretary of the Buyid court. Most remarkable is the existence of an Arabic manuscript containing three works composed by Thābit, which Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm copied with recourse to an exemplar in Thābit's handwriting: Istanbul, Köprülü MS 948. Moreover, Ibn al-Qiftī's *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* cited a list of Thābit's works composed by Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin (d. 1010), a son of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm. These facts suggest that this family, descended from Thābit, authorised his works by keeping his autograph exemplars and producing copies of his authentic works. In this article, by examining the contents of al-Muḥassin's catalogue of Thābit's works, the colophons of Köprülü MS 948 copied by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, and the correspondence concerning Apollonius' mathematical works between Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm and al-Kūhī, I elucidate how the members of this family managed the works of its founder Thābit, protecting his reputation as an authority on Greek science and philosophy by controlling the copying of his works, and how they struggled to maintain their high position at the court by using Thābit's legacy.

Keywords: Thābit ibn Qurra, Ibn al-Qiftī's Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ, Köprülü (Istanbul) MS 948, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī, al-Kūhī

Introduction

Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 901 CE) stands as one of the preeminent scholars who was engaged in the realm of Greek science and philosophy in the early Abbasid period.[1] He acquired particular praise for his translations of significant Greek scientific works. Noteworthy among these endeavours was his revision of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's (c. 830-910/911) Arabic

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1 On the life and times of Thābit ibn Qurra, see Rashed, *Founding Figures*, 113-122. Rashed, *Thâbit ibn Qurra* contains important articles on Thābit's achievements in Greek science and philosophy.

translations of Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*.[2] The rectified translations, in turn, became the authoritative Arabic versions of these texts in the Islamicate world.[3]

Thābit's erudition also manifested in the composition of synopses for Greek scientific and philosophical works, including the *Almagest* and Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic*. In addition, he authored original works derived from his profound engagement with Greek science, such as *On the Measurement of the Conic Section Called Parabola*; *Treatise on the Motion of Two Luminous Bodies [i.e., the Sun and the Moon]*; and *Treatise on the Concise Exposition of What Aristotle Presented in his Book* Metaphysics *of [Topics] That Proceed According to the Method of [Apodictic] Demonstration, not Persuasion, Written for the Vizier Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim ibn ʿUbayd Allāh*.[4]

Concerning the beginning of Thābit's exploration of Greek science, several Arabic historical records accentuate his affiliations with the Banū Mūsā.[5] The Banū Mūsā – namely, Muḥammad (d. 873), Aḥmad, and Ḥasan – distinguished themselves in the Abbasid court through their profound engagement with Greek mathematics and astronomy.[6] Among their noteworthy accomplishments lies their Arabic translation of Apollonius' *Conics*. They were the sons of Mūsā ibn Shākir, who was an astronomer/astrologer (*munajjim*) and was a companion to the young al-Maʾmūn, who was the future seventh Abbasid caliph. Upon Mūsā's demise, the Banū Mūsā entered al-Maʾmūn's court, gradually ascending to prominent positions by the time of al-Maʾmūn's accession. Their tenacious commitment to maintaining their high positions is represented by an episode reported by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (1203-1270) detailing a power struggle between them and al-Kindī (d. after 866).

Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī, who was frequently called the first Arab philosopher, emerged as a prolific luminary in the domains of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and philosophy.[7] A significant portion of his treatises consists of compendious elucidations of Greek scientific and philosophical works. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa documented in *Sources of Information about the Classes of Physician* (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*; henceforth, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*) the stratagem employed by the Banū Mūsā, wherein they deceived al-Kindī, leading to the tenth Abbasid caliph, al-Mutawakkil (r. 822-861), no longer trusting him. Subsequently, they endeavoured to wrest from al-Kindī the books he owned.[8] This episode impresses on us that to ascend to their eminent positions in the court, the Banū Mūsā exhibited pronounced assertiveness against contemporaneous scholars such as al-Kindī, trapping him in their manoeuvres.

This episode also suggests that the books in scholars' libraries played a central role in ensuring their authoritative standing. Given that the majority of the acclaim bestowed upon

2 Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn was the primary Arabic translator of Greek scientific and philosophical works in Thābit's days. Concerning his biography, see Cooper, Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn.

3 Note that another Arabic version composed by Thābit is identified by Grupe, The "Thābit-version".

4 In the present article, all translations from sources (just as these titles of Thābit's works) are mine.

5 On the early career of Thābit, I utilise Mimura, Ghulāms (slave boys), 191-196.

6 On the biography of the Banū Mūsā brothers, see Hill, *Book of Ingenious Devices*, 3-6.

7 On his biography, see Adamson, *al-Kindī*.

8 On this episode, see Adamson and Pormann, *Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, lxv-lxviii.

both al-Kindī and the Banū Mūsā emanated from their proficiency in Greek scientific pursuits, it is reasonable that they sought to acquire new Greek scientific works and expand their knowledge of Greek science. We must remark, however, that as they were not sufficiently proficient in the Greek tongue to comprehend these source texts, they had to rely on linguistic aides to read them. In fact, al-Kindī engaged scholars who were skilful in Greek texts, most of whom were Syriac Christians. He organised a group referred to by some modern scholars as the "Kindī-circle", who rendered into Arabic quite a few Greek scientific and philosophical compositions.[9] Conversely, the Banū Mūsā found Thābit ibn Qurra to be a promising candidate capable of undertaking this task.

Several Arabic bio-bibliographies report that the first encounter between the Banū Mūsā and Thābit ibn Qurra took place when Thābit was a money-changer in Ḥarrān,[10] and Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, who was the eldest of the Banū Mūsā, chose him as a companion upon returning from the Roman region, discerning his linguistic ability. Subsequently, Thābit studied under the tutelage of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, thereby acquiring profound knowledge in Muḥammad's house.[11]

While the Arabic bio-bibliographies refrain from specifying Thābit's age at the time of their encounter, they do clarify Muḥammad's role in Thābit's tutelage, implying an inadequacy in Thābit's educational foundation, particularly in the realm of Greek science, in his native land, Ḥarrān. Consequently, we can conclude that owing to Thābit's demonstrated proficiency in multiple languages, Muḥammad decided to teach him the rudiments of Greek scientific knowledge, commencing at a foundational level. This pedagogical endeavour aimed to elevate Thābit into a linguistic assistant for the Banū Mūsā's scholarly investigations thereafter.

Owing to Muḥammad's tutelage, Thābit emerged as an indispensable aide to the Banū Mūsā. As explained in the preface to their Arabic version of Apollonius' *Conics*, Aḥmad, the middle brother of the Banū Mūsā, achieved his translation with the help of Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī and Thābit ibn Qurra.[12] The case of the Arabic version of the *Conics* underscores that, in the process of assisting the Banū Mūsā, Thābit availed himself of invaluable opportunities to become acquainted with quite a few Greek scientific works. As a result, he evolved into a proficient scholar of Greek science, composing numerous works on Greek science and philosophy, as mentioned above.

Significantly, quite a few of Thābit's sons also became prominent scholars of Greek sciences. Indeed, serving as a preeminent medical practitioner in Baghdad, Sinān ibn Thābit

9 On his translation activities, see Adamson, *al-Kindī*, 25-29.

10 Ḥarrān was one of the central cities in Upper Mesopotamia, now in Turkey. On the myth about this city, see van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 64-118.

11 Here, I utilise the description found in Ibn al-Nadīm's (c. 932-990) *Catalogue* (*Fihrist*). The Arabic text of it is in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 272; the English translation in Dodge, *Fihrist*, 647. Note that a new edition of this work has been published: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid; however, as Hameen-Anttila remarks in Hameen-Anttila, *Khwadaynamag*, xii, the editor Sayyid sometimes emends the Arabic text without notice, so we should be very cautious when we refer to this new edition; see also Stewart, Editing the *Fihrist*.

12 For the Arabic text with an English translation of this preface, see Banū Mūsā, *Apollonius: Conics*, ed. Toomer, 620-629; for a French translation, see Appolonius, *Conics*, trans. Rashed *et al.*, 500-507.

(d. 943), assumed an esteemed position as a court physician to three Abbasid caliphs: al-Muqtadir (r. 908-932), al-Qāhir (r. 932-934), and al-Rāḍī (r. 934-940).[13] Furthermore, Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān (908-946), a son of Sinān, was recognised as a distinguished scholar in the domain of Greek mathematics in his era.[14] This fact illustrates that not only Thābit's son but also his grandson were actively engaged in the pursuit of Greek science.

Moreover, as outlined in the genealogical lineage traced from Thābit ibn Qurra (see Figure 1), his progeny established affiliations with another Ṣābian family. Consequently, this lineage (the so-called "Ṣābiʾ family")[15] engendered Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm (925-994), the chief secretary of a Buyid ruler, Muʿizz Dawla (915-967). It is noteworthy that this family continued its eminence as court secretary-scholars in Baghdad until the year 1222. This overview highlights the enduring impact of Thābit's intellectual legacy on Greek science and philosophy, thereby establishing the significant Ṣābiʾ family in Baghdad.

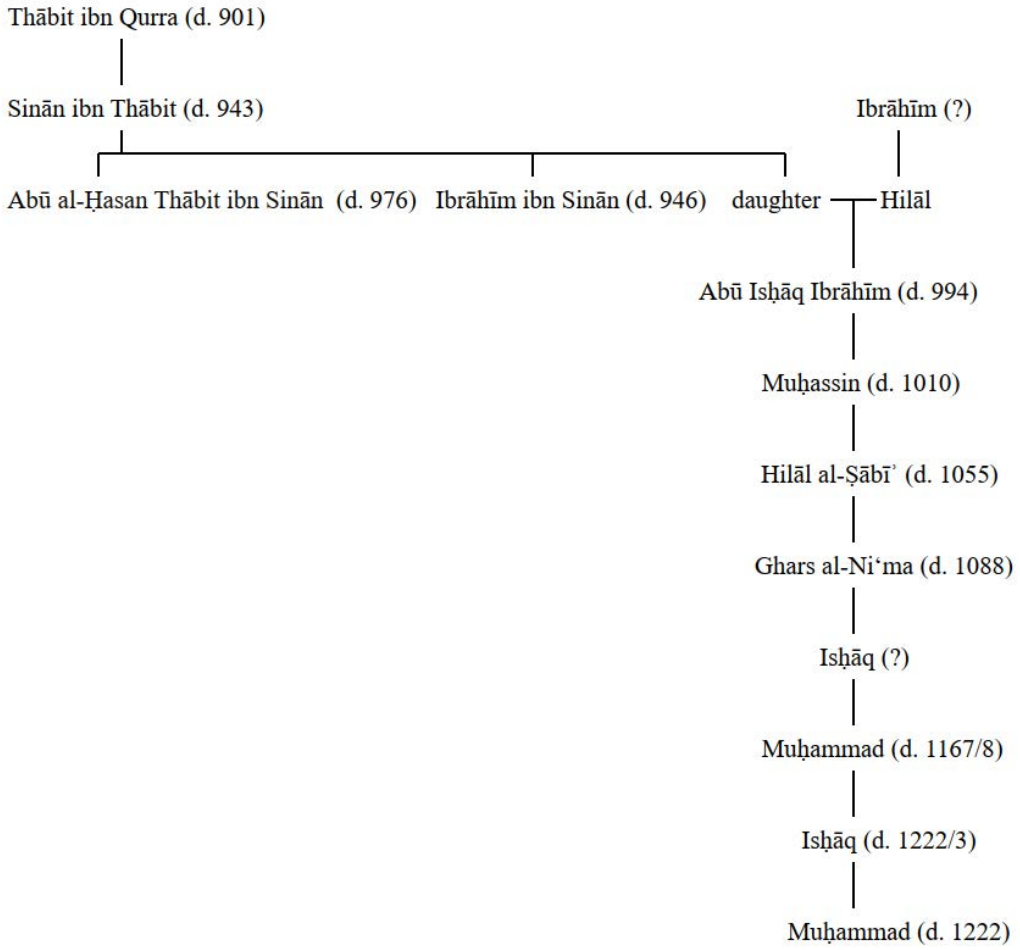

Fig. 1: The Ṣābiʾ Family Tree[16]

13 On the biography of Sinān ibn Thābit, see Dold-Samplonius, Sinān ibn Thābit.

14 On the biography of Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān, see Rashed and Bellosta, *Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān*, 1-5.

15 On the Ṣābiʾ family, see Roberts, Being a Sabian.

16 I have composed this family tree based on Roberts, Being a Sabian, 274.

Thābit ibn Qurra's heritage in Greek science and philosophy was documented in major Arabic bio-bibliographies. To our knowledge, the oldest surviving documentation is found in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, where Ibn al-Nadīm presented a concise account of Thābit's biography along with a list of his works.[17] Subsequently, borrowing Ibn al-Nadīm's biographical portrayal of Thābit, Ibn al-Qiftī's (d. 1248) *History of Wise Men* (*Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ*)[18] and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's (1203-1270) *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*[19] extended quite a few episodes that elucidated Thābit's life and significantly enlarged the list of his scholarly works.

In fact, while Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* recorded only 14 items in its list of Thābit's works, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, by contrast, contained approximately 150 items.[20] The sheer magnitude of Thābit's output underlines the profound impact of his contributions to Greek science and philosophy, thereby substantiating the Ṣābiʾ family's enduring prominence within the court, notwithstanding their adherence to Ṣābianism.[21]

On the other hand, there is the question of how Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa obtained the information he used in compiling his comprehensive list of Thābit's works. Addressing this query necessitates consulting the list of Thābit's works in Ibn al-Qiftī's *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ*, as will be explored next.

Al-Muḥassin's catalogue of Thābit's works

Ibn al-Qiftī is known to have written *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* in Aleppo at almost the same time as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa wrote the early versions of *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, that is, around 1240 CE. As elucidated by Ignacio Sánchez, it becomes evident that the early versions of *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* were compiled separately from the compilation of the *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*.[22]

Significantly, in the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ*, Ibn al-Qiftī's principal source regarding the list of Thābit's works was the catalogue of their titles documented by Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin (d. 1010), a son of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, which encompassed approximately 80 entries. When he cites this catalogue, Ibn al-Qiftī starts with the following note:

> As for the titles of the works he [= Thābit] composed, I found leaves written by the hand of Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin, which contain the report of Thābit's genealogy as well as the detailed and thorough report of the books he composed, so I attach them [the leaves] after this because these [sheets] are the authoritative source concerning that, by the successful God.[23]

17 The Arabic text is in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 280; trans. Dodge, *Fihrist*, 662.

18 The Arabic text is in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 115-122.

19 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Savage-Smith *et al*., vol. 2/1, 550-565; trans. Savage-Smith *et al*., vol. 3/1, 593-610.

20 Note that many of Thābit's works are now lost, so quite a few of his works of which we know only the title may be very short treatises, like pamphlets.

21 On the importance of Greek scholarship for Thābit as a survival tool in the court, see Mimura, Greek scientific and philosophical knowledge.

22 See Savage-Smith *et al*., *Literary History*, vol. 1, 31-75.

23 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 116. Unless otherwise noted, here and in the following all translations from Arabic are my own.

Then, after several pages, he concludes the citation of the catalogue with the following phrase: "[the document written] by the hand of al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī is like this",[24] thereby attesting to his fidelity in reproducing it following the exemplar transcribed by al-Muḥassin's hand.

It is obvious that al-Muḥassin added his own comments to some of the titles of Thābit's works in his documentation. For example, he appended the following comment to the title "His [= Thābit's] book on a pause between the two movements of the arteries":

> Two books. He [=Thābit] composed this book in Syriac because he indicated in it a refutation of al-Kindī. A student of his known as ʿĪsā ibn Usayd al-Naṣrānī translated it into Arabic, and Thābit revised the Arabic version. Some people said that the translator of this book was Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Aʿsam, but this is wrong. Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn Isḥāq, known as Ibn al-Kurnayb, already refuted [the opinion of] Thābit concerning this book after Thābit's death, although [his refutation] was not useful. When he [= Thābit] composed it [= this book] for Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, Isḥāq approved of it very strongly and wrote at the end of it in his own hand that he praised Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit, blessed him, and extolled him.[25]

Since this note mentions detailed scholarly debates from around the time of Thābit, including Thābit's exchange with Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, it is conceivable that al-Muḥassin compiled this catalogue by perusing extant historical archives, conceivably stored in his familial repository.

On the other hand, the entry on Thābit in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* presents the titles of his works in a different sequence from that of Ibn al-Qiftī's. Considering the additional titles in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's list, absent in Ibn al-Qiftī's, it becomes evident that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa must have drawn upon a source beyond what was obtained by Ibn al-Qiftī.[26]

However, we observe that certain annotations appended by al-Muḥassin in his catalogue find a corresponding entry within the list in *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*. For example, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa transcribed the identical comment about the title "His book on a pause between the two movements of the arteries" as the one quoted above that al-Muḥassin had added in his catalogue.[27] This shows not only that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa must have composed his list by merging a number of sources, including al-Muḥassin's catalogue, and rearranging the sequence of the titles, but also that his compilation was significantly influenced by al-Muḥassin's catalogue.

That the two lists in the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ* and *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* originated from al-Muḥassin's catalogue underlines the strong influence exerted by al-Muḥassin's survey of Thābit's works; it became a significant promoter for the dissemination of Thābit's accomplishments in Greek science and philosophy among scholars in Baghdad. This endeavour had extended

24 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 119.

25 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 116.

26 For example, Morelon in the introduction to his edition compares the titles of Thābit's astronomical works in the Arabic bio-bibliographies, and points out some extra titles in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's list; Thābit ibn Qurra, *Œuvres d'astronomie*, ed. and trans. Morelon, xiv-xviii.

27 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Savage-Smith *et al*., vol. 2/1, 558; trans. Savage-Smith *et al*., vol. 3/1, 602.

its reach by around 1240 to Aleppo, where Ibn al-Qiftī composed the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ*, as well as to Sarkhad, where Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa composed the early version of the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*.[28] Thanks to the titles of Thābit's works collected in al-Muḥassin's catalogue, it became possible for Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa to list approximately 150 titles of Thābit's works, even though Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* had contained only 14 titles. Interestingly, within Ibn al-Qiftī's *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ* and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, we also find al-Muḥassin's list of the works written by Sinān ibn Thābit, a son of Thābit, which we turn to next.

Al-Muḥassin's list of Sinān ibn Thābit's works

In both Ibn al-Qiftī's *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ* and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, the entries on Sinān ibn Thābit begin with biographical episodes from his life and end with the same list of his works under almost identical headings:

The heading in Ibn al-Qiftī's work:

> [the titles of] his [= Sinān ibn Thābit's] works which are transmitted from the hand of al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī[29]

The heading in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's work:

> [the titles of] the books by Abū Saʿīd Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurra which are transmitted from the hand of Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī[30]

Given that, as mentioned before, the early versions of the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* were compiled independently of the *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, the reference to al-Muḥassin's list of Sinān ibn Thābit's titles in the works of both Ibn al-Qiftī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa illustrates that al-Muḥassin's endeavour to catalogue Sinān's works also extended its impact beyond Baghdad. Remarkably, the list had a clear influence on Barhebraeus' (Bar ʿEbroyo, Ibn al-ʿIbrī, 1225/6-1286) Syriac chronicle entitled *Book on the Records of the Time* (*Ktābā d-maktbānūt zabnē*; henceforth, *Chronicorum*).

Barhebraeus, who was a Syriac Orthodox prelate and polymath,[31] authored many works in Syriac, alongside quite a few in Arabic, covering diverse subjects, such as biblical exegesis, theology, history, philosophy, and astronomy. He also composed several chronicles in both Syriac and Arabic. In one of his Syriac chronicles, entitled *Chronicorum*, he listed the titles of Thābit's works in Syriac.[32] However, as elucidated by Kevin van Bladel, this list was in fact a mixture of titles of works written by Thābit and others from al-Muḥassin's Arabic

28 See Savage-Smith *et al.*, *Ibn Abi Usaybiʿah*, x.

29 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 195.

30 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Savage-Smith *et al.*, vol. 2/1, 572; trans. Savage-Smith *et al.*, vol. 3/1, 617.

31 See Takahashi, *Barhebraeus*, for a comprehensive bio-bibliography of Barhebraeus.

32 See Takahashi, Thābit b. Qurra.

list of Sinān ibn Thābit's works that had been subsequently translated into Syriac. In fact, this list preserved the sequential arrangement found in al-Muḥassin's list of Sinān's works, notwithstanding Barhebraeus' assertion, deliberately misleading or otherwise, that these works were written by Thābit in Syriac.[33] The utilisation of this list by Barhebraeus serves to validate the success of al-Muḥassin's project of surveying the scholarly accomplishments of his ancestors.

The above analysis of al-Muḥassin's survey of the works authored by Thābit and Sinān reveals the profound impact of his catalogues of the works of these two authors. This attests to al-Muḥassin's deliberate endeavour to compile a comprehensive catalogue of works written by the ancestors of the Ṣābiʾ family.

Moreover, the opening to Ibn al-Qiftī's presentation of al-Muḥassin's catalogue of Thābit's works, quoted above, illustrates that al-Muḥassin included Thābit's genealogical lineage in his catalogue, although Ibn al-Qiftī did not copy it. Since the entry on Thābit in Ibn al-Qiftī's *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ* lacks details concerning Thābit's ancestry, the genealogy documented by al-Muḥassin presumably only pertains to the Ṣābiʾ family lineage from Thābit to al-Muḥassin. Consequently, it seems plausible that al-Muḥassin's project was the preservation of the Ṣābiʾ family's intellectual heritage concerning the realms of Greek science and philosophy, including the catalogue of Thābit's works and Sinān's, alongside the Ṣābiʾ family lineage.

Here, we must remember that, as mentioned previously, al-Muḥassin's comment on the title "His book on a pause between the two movements of the arteries" shows that the Ṣābiʾ family had already collected records pertaining to Thābit's works. Thus, the undertaking to scrutinise the scholarly accomplishments of their ancestry might not have been initiated by al-Muḥassin personally but rather a coordinated one, a family enterprise. That this survey was organised by the broader Ṣābiʾ family is further suggested by a note left in Ibn al-Qiftī's list of Thābit's works following al-Muḥassin's catalogue, which I turn to now.

A note in Ibn al-Qiftī's list of Thābit's works

After the copy of al-Muḥassin's catalogue, Ibn al-Qiftī provided a list of Thābit's summary works in the realms of astronomy and geometry.[34] He then listed two Arabic translations attributed to Thābit – *Treatise about the Explanation of the Ṣābians' Doctrine* and *Dhakhīra* – and attached the following note to these two titles:

> I asked Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Sinān about this treatise [= the *Treatise about the Explanation of the Ṣābians' Doctrine*] and the summary [= the *Dhakhīra*], and he said, "These are not by Thābit, and I did not find them among his works and his exemplars."[35]

Considering the family relationship between Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Sinān (d. 976) and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, as depicted in Fig. 1, it is clear that the referent of the first "I" in this note should not be interpreted as Ibn al-Qiftī. Given when Abū al-Ḥasan died as well as the fact

33 See van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 93-94.

34 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 120.

35 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 120.

that this note was placed after al-Muḥassin's catalogue, it is plausible that "I" means Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, the father of al-Muḥassin. Consequently, this note provides evidence that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm had at least begun assembling information regarding works composed by Thābit.

Important in this context is the existence of an Arabic manuscript containing Thābit's works that was copied by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, which is today housed in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul. This particular manuscript serves as a witness to his diligence in preserving Thābit's legacy. In the following section, I discuss this manuscript in more detail.

Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa MS 948

Köprülü MS 948 consists of 58 folios.[36] As Pouyan Rezvani notes, the front page of this codex bears testament to its ownership through possession notes, validating its association with Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī (1498-1576 CE) and Ismāʿīl ibn al-Nāblusī (1530-1585), both of whom were active in Damascus.[37] The provenance of this codex indicates that codices held by the Ṣābiʾ family in Baghdad were separated and disseminated to other owners; we know that Köprülü MS 948 must have been present in Damascus during the 16th century CE.

On the front page (fol. 1a), the copyist Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm added the following title:

> Book of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurra – May God be pleased with him – on the time-instruments which are called sundials; an account by him explaining the means – mentioned by Ptolemy – by which those who preceded him [= Ptolemy] determined circular movements of the Moon, which are uniform; and [an account] also by him on constructing a solid figure of fourteen sides inside a known sphere.

In concordance with this title, this codex comprises the following three works authored by Thābit in the following order:

> Book on the time-instruments which are called sundials (fols. 1b-45b);[38]
> Account explaining the means – mentioned by Ptolemy – by which those who preceded him [= Ptolemy] determined circular movements of the Moon, which are uniform (fols. 46b-54b);[39]
> Account on constructing a solid figure of fourteen sides inside a known sphere (fols. 55a-58b).[40]

36 This codex has been published twice in facsimile version: Sezgin, *Thâbit ibn Qurra*; Rezvani, *Sih risālah-i*. See also the catalogue entry in the *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus* project (https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/964).

37 See Rezvani, *Sih risālah-i*, 6.

38 Thābit ibn Qurra, Œuvres *d'astronomie*, ed. and trans. Morelon, 130-168.

39 Thābit ibn Qurra, Œuvres *d'astronomie*, ed. and trans. Morelon, 83-92.

40 The Arabic text with a French translation is in Asselah, *Thābit ibn Qurra*.

At the end of each work, the copyist Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm appended a colophon. For example, the first work has the following colophon (fol. 45b):

> I copied the whole of that [book] from the exemplar by Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurra – may God be pleased with him – which was by his hand. Ibrāhīm Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn wrote [it] in Dhū al-Hijja 370 AH [= 981 CE]. I collated it with the exemplar, and it was corrected. Thank God.[41]

This colophon shows that this codex was copied by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm in 981.

A remarkable aspect of this colophon is the explicit statement by the copyist, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, that he had an exemplar of this work copied by Thābit himself. Similar references to Thābit's exemplars of his works are found not only in this colophon but also in those appended to the second and third treatises. In fact, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm remarked in the colophon of the second treatise (fol. 54b) as follows:

> I copied it from a copy by Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurra – May God have mercy upon him – which was [actually] not by his hand. I collated it with this copy, and it was corrected.[42]

This colophon attests to Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm being very much aware of whether his exemplars had been copied by Thābit or not. Then, in the colophon of the third treatise (fol. 58b), he noted:

> I copied it from the exemplar by Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurra – May God have mercy upon him – which was by his hand.[43]

These three colophons show that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm systematically collected exemplars of Thābit's works copied in his own hand. Thus, his collection might have been a veritable repository affiliated with the Ṣābiʾ family library holding only the authentic works written by their ancestors, such as Thābit. Here, we must also remark that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm's intention to collect Thābit's authentic works is clear in the note quoted above on the *Treatise about the Explanation of the Ṣābians' Doctrine* and the *Dhakhīra*, preserved in Ibn al-Qiftī's *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ*, where he sought the validation of their attribution to Thābit from his uncle, Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Sinān.

Given Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm's initiative in constructing the familial library, it is plausible that his son, al-Muḥassin, undertook the compilation of an authentic inventory describing the works written by the family ancestors, namely, Thābit and Sinān, just like a library catalogue.

Indeed, there is a noticeable correlation between al-Muḥassin's catalogue elucidating the works of Thābit and the contents of Köprülü MS 948. Al-Muḥassin's catalogue of Thābit's works appears to us to list the titles of works on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and

41 See also Thābit ibn Qurra, Œuvres *d'astronomie*, ed. and trans. Morelon, 168.

42 See also Thābit ibn Qurra, Œuvres *d'astronomie*, ed. and trans. Morelon, 92.

43 See also Asselah, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 330-331.

philosophy in an unsystematic manner. However, in this catalogue, we find three titles sequenced in the following order:

> His [= Thābit's] book on the time-instruments which are called sundials;
> His book on constructing a solid figure of fourteen sides inside a known sphere;
> His book on explaining the means – mentioned by Ptolemy – by which those who preceded him [= Ptolemy] determined circular movements of the Moon, which are uniform.[44]

Clearly, these three titles in question are the works Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm copied in Köprülü MS 948. Given the relative lack of thematic coherence among these three compositions, it is reasonable for us to conclude that Thābit's works were organised in the family library in a specific order, and al-Muḥassin listed their titles in alignment with this established order, while Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm copied these three works, maintaining an almost identical sequential arrangement as in the library.

As a result of the family commitment to collecting the exemplars of their ancestors' works, preserving their authentic copies, and disseminating comprehensive title lists, Thābit's remarkable achievements undoubtedly obtained heightened recognition among scholars in Baghdad compared to the era during which Ibn al-Nadīm authored the *Fihrist*. Subsequently, his esteemed reputation spread beyond Baghdad through an exhaustive list of his works composed by al-Muḥassin, just as found in the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ* and *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*.

The above analysis shows that the Ṣābiʾ family, wherein Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm and al-Muḥassin emerged as pivotal figures, systematically collected and catalogued the genuine works written by their ancestors, in particular Thābit and Sinān. Their zealous engagement in preserving their family's intellectual legacy impresses on us the significance they attributed to comprehending the entire picture of the family's erudite contributions to Greek science and philosophy. Furthermore, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm even tried to extend part of Thābit's scholarly contribution to Greek science through his own research, as I shall elucidate by analysing the correspondence between him and al-Kūhī, a court scholar in the Buyid dynasty.

Correspondence between Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm and al-Kūhī

Abū Sahl Wījan ibn Rustam al-Kūhī (fl. second half of the 10th century CE), a contemporary of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, emerged as a preeminent scholar in the realm of Greek mathematical sciences, gaining particular praise for his proficiency in astronomical observation.[45] Utilising this erudition, he provided invaluable services for various Buyid rulers and composed quite a few works on Greek mathematics and astronomy.

Al-Kūhī's contact with the Ṣābiʾ family is discernible in al-Muḥassin's list of Sinān's works, where he recorded the title "His [= Sinān's] revision of Abū Sahl al-Kūhī's style in all of his books".[46] Although this work is not extant, its title suggests that Sinān proofread and revised all Arabic texts written by al-Kūhī. Given the chronological disparity between Sinān and

44 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 117.

45 On his biography, see Berggren, Kūhī.

46 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 195.

al-Kūhī, it can be inferred that al-Kūhī was still in the early stages of his scholarly life when Sinān wrote this revision.

Remarkably, Ibn al-Qiftī's entry on al-Kūhī in the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ* suggests a sustained relationship between al-Kūhī and the Ṣābiʾ family after the days of Sinān.[47] In this entry, Ibn al-Qiftī initially expounds upon al-Kūhī's eminence in the realms of mathematics, astronomy, and astronomical instruments. Subsequently, he elucidates an episode involving Sharaf al-Dawla, a ruler of the Buyid dynasty (r. 983-988/9), who, in 988/989, manifested a keen interest in the observation of planetary motions and entrusted al-Kūhī with the execution of this observation due to al-Kūhī's profound knowledge of mathematical sciences.[48] Consequently, al-Kūhī erected a building dedicated to observation and conducted celestial observations.

Following his description of this episode, Ibn al-Qiftī transcribes two testimonial documents authored by al-Kūhī about two astronomical observation events. In these documents, al-Kūhī affirmed that the events were held in front of esteemed individuals, such as judges and eminent scholars. Concluding the transcription of these two documents, Ibn al-Qiftī notes that the participants in these events put their signatures on these documents, and he lists their names, which include that of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm.

These documents show that the association between al-Kūhī and the Ṣābiʾ family continued, at the very least, until the time of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm. Indeed, in addition to his signature on this document, a correspondence between him and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm is preserved in three Arabic manuscripts. This correspondence comprises four epistles.[49] In the first and second epistles penned by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, he asked al-Kūhī to furnish the remaining propositions of Apollonius' *Treatise on Determinate Ratio*.[50]

Apollonius was an eminent scholar of Greek mathematics, acclaimed particularly for his work entitled *Conics*.[51] Besides the *Conics*, the titles of some of Apollonius' other works have been transmitted, albeit most having regrettably been lost. One of them is the *Determinate Section* (the *Determinate Ratio* in Arabic), which is unfortunately not extant in its original Greek nor in its Arabic translation. Despite this, a reference to this work by Pappus of Alexandria, an eminent Greek mathematician flourishing around the 4th century CE, indicates that it deals with the following problem: "Given four points – A, B, C, D – on a straight line l, to determine a point P on that line such that the ratio $AP{\cdot}CP \,/\, BP{\cdot}DP$ has a given value."[52] The discussion between al-Kūhī and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm about the *Determinate Ratio* is thus a valuable witness to this lost work.

47 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 351.

48 See also Sayılı, *Observatory in Islam*, 114-115.

49 Berggren provided an Arabic edition of this correspondence with an English translation and commentary: Abū Sahl al-Kūhī and Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī, The correspondence, ed. Berggren.

50 Abū Sahl al-Kūhī and Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī, The correspondence, ed. Berggren, 103-110 (in Arabic part); trans. Berggren, 42-52.

51 On the biography of Apollonius, see Toomer, Apollonius of Perga.

52 See Toomer, Apollonius of Perga, 188.

Remarkably, al-Muḥassin included the title "His [Thābit's] revision of the first book of Apollonius' *Determinate Ratio*" in his catalogue of Thābit's works, accompanied by the following note:

> This book is in two volumes: Thābit revised the first book very well and commented, explained, and elucidated it, but he never revised volume two, which was incomprehensible.[53]

This note indicates that finalising the rectification of the second book was one of the projects left unfinished by Thābit, and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm's request to al-Kūhī suggests he intended to extend Thābit's heritage with the assistance of his colleague.

Al-Kūhī's response indicates that he had completed some propositions of the second book together with Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm on a previous occasion. However, he posited a reservation regarding his ability to complete the remaining propositions without Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm's help, so he expressed a desire to meet with Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm soon. Furthermore, he recalled that supplementary propositions had been put forward by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm about the second book, prompting Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm to send his own propositions if he wanted to have the remaining propositions before their meeting.[54]

This response shows that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm himself was engaged in rectifying the second book, wherein he proffered additional propositions, and that concerning Apollonius' *Determinate Ratio*, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm surpassed al-Kūhī, probably due to Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm's connections to the Ṣābiʾ family library, a repository endowed with quite a few works on this subject, coupled with his tutelage amongst the family members. Remarkably, several works composed by al-Kūhī on mathematical topics discussed by Apollonius have survived.[55] His attempts to explore these topics indicates that scholarly exchanges between al-Kūhī and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm on the *Determinate Ratio*, some of which were recorded in the correspondence, were the basis for his research on Greek mathematics, especially when it came to Apollonian subjects.

Conclusion

In this article, by examining the contents of al-Muḥassin's catalogue of the works composed by Thābit and Sinān as well as the three colophons of Köprülü MS 948 copied by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, I elucidated that, in order to apprehend the erudite accomplishments of the Ṣābiʾ family, this family – especially Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm and al-Muḥassin – systematically collected and catalogued the genuine works authored by their ancestors. The paramount importance ascribed to this scholarly legacy by the members of this family is further confirmed by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm's aim of completing Thābit's work on the second book of Apollonius' *Determinate Ratio*, as shown in his correspondence with al-Kūhī. His endeavour

53 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 119.

54 Abū Sahl al-Kūhī and Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī, The correspondence, ed. Berggren, 110-124 (in Arabic part); trans. Berggren, 52-70.

55 See Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 5, 112-117.

to understand the *Determinate Ratio* highlights the significance of Greek scientific knowledge for this family.

The profound undertaking of the Ṣābiʾ family in preserving the family's accomplishments illustrates the potency of their scholarly legacy in Greek erudition as a powerful survival tool for the family members as court scholars. The establishment of the Ṣābiʾ family library in Baghdad was thus a pivotal means for them to perpetuate their influence within the court.

As previously mentioned, however, the front page of Köprülü MS 948, which was likely held in the Ṣābiʾ family library in Baghdad, contains three ownership statements including those of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī (1498-1576) and Ismāʿīl ibn al-Nāblusī (1530-1585), both of whom were active in Damascus. This establishes that the family library in Baghdad was deconstructed at some point, with its codices subsequently separated and circulated to other owners. As a result, Köprülü MS 948 was present in Damascus in the 16th century CE; and its current possession by the Köprülü Library in Istanbul means that we are able to examine its contents. A global search of codices might lead us to recognise other items that formed part of the Ṣābiʾ family library in Baghdad, offering further insights into the history of the family library.

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Fig. 1: The Ṣābiʾ Family Tree

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From the Banks of the Tigris to Circumambulating *al-Kaʿba*

The Fate of a Manuscript from the Last Abbasid Caliph's Library during the Mongol Invasion

Ghasem Gharib*

Compared to previous nomadic incursions from the Eurasian Steppes into western Islamic lands, the Mongol invasions that conquered Transoxiana and Iran are considered the largest. The speed and extent of the three waves of Mongol invasions surprised the rulers of West Asia and the Abbasid Caliphate. The Mongol invasions brought deep, long-term changes to Islamic political ideology and legitimacy, while also causing immediate cultural destruction in Iran and the broader Islamic world. The raiders' destruction of libraries exemplifies their vengeful actions after conquering cities. Besides accounts from primary sources, manuscript evidence confirms the destruction of books and libraries during this crisis. This article aims to demonstrate that marginal notes in manuscript No. 16388 from the Marʿashī Library in Qum provide evidence of this destruction. The notes contain direct information about the Mongol invasion of Baghdad and the damage suffered by the library of the last Abbasid caliph. Beyond their political significance, these marginal notes also reveal how scientific and educational use of surviving manuscripts persisted, indicating that although the Mongol invasion disrupted scientific institutions, the scientific traditions of schools and daily life continued after the catastrophe.

Keywords: Marʿashī manuscript No. 16388, ʿAbd Allāh al-Qazwīnī, Muḥammad ibn Suleymān, Kitāb al-Sunan, Ibn Mājah, al-Mustaʿṣim bi-ʾllāh, Mongols, Baghdad

Introduction

Islamic manuscripts are not only an essential part of the material heritage of human history, but they also played different roles in pre-modern societies than they do today. For past authors and readers, they primarily served as vessels for editing or publishing a particular work. Today, however, these manuscripts also provide valuable sources of information as they can help uncover the "unwritten parts of history" and recall events not found in traditional narrative sources. They are particularly insightful for social and cultural issues often overlooked in political history, such as those revealed through marginal notes.

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Some manuscripts contain annotations about book circulation, providing insights into how these books were bought or sold, as well as information on manuscript movement across various territories. Tracking the movement of manuscripts can explain how certain ideas, beliefs, or religions migrated from one region to another. For instance, the transmission of hadiths from one narrator to another across cities was often accompanied by the transfer of manuscripts. Individuals who received permission (*ijāza*) from a hadith scholar to transmit particular hadith would usually document that permission on the manuscript itself, highlighting the specific scholar from whom they acquired the knowledge. The *ijāza* system, a recognized component of Islamic pedagogical traditions, served as a significant mechanism for the authoritative transmission of hadith. This mode of hadith instruction was widely adopted by the Iranian ʿulamāʾ from the early Islamic centuries until the late pre-modern period, encompassing both hadith and fiqh studies.[1]

The manuscript under analysis in this article is a unique copy of a hadith initially written in Hamadān, a city in western Iran, before it traveled to Damascus, Baghdad, and the Hijaz. The original manuscript no longer survives, but a copy, now housed in the Marʿashī Library in Qum,[2] was created centuries later and includes marginal notes documenting the original's journey. One of these marginal notes in the Marʿashī copy indicates that the original manuscript became part of the library of the last Abbasid caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim bi-'llāh, after it was transferred to Baghdad in 635 AH/1237 CE.[3] Although the Mongols destroyed the caliph's library during their invasion, the original manuscript allegedly survived because someone fleeing Baghdad managed to take it with them.

Marginal notes in manuscripts constitute valuable historical and cultural documentation of Islamic societies, offering a diverse range of information relevant to scholarly inquiry.

> Due to the wide range of content that we find in such notes, they are a rich source for a number of fields, from the history of ideas, to social, economic, an urban history, historical topography, and biographical studies. We encounter the names of persons, dates, topographical information, the names of buildings, links of kinship, prices, historical events, and terms for various crafts and trades.[4]

This study will first introduce the Marʿashī manuscript and its codicological features to identify what can be learned about the original manuscript from the marginal notes in this extant copy. Then, it will analyze these marginal notes in relation to their historical context, arguing that they offer evidence of Baghdad's fall and the destruction of the last Abbasid caliph's

1 Idriz, Educational tradition of ijāzah, 179-195.

2 The Āyat Allāh Marʿashī Najafī Library, situated in Qum, Iran, constitutes a prominent repository of Islamic manuscripts, holding a position of significant importance within both Iranian and broader Islamic scholarly circles. Its collection of old manuscripts exhibits a scale and historical depth comparable to that of the Āstān Quds Raḍawī Library in Mashhad, Iran. The provenance of the library's holdings traces back to Najaf, Iraq, with their subsequent relocation to Qum occurring in conjunction with the migration of its founder, Āyat Allāh Shihāb al-Dīn Marʿashī Najafī (1897-1990).

3 Fol. 127b.

4 Görke and Hirschler, Introduction, 10.



Figure 1: Fol. 127, Qum, Marʿashī Library, No. 16388, including the marginal notes

library. Lastly, by examining these notes, the study seeks to shed light on the manuscript's journey, providing insight into the pre-modern Islamic world's manuscript circulation and how Islamic knowledge was transmitted through these codices.

Manuscript No. 16388 of the Marʿashī Library

Manuscript No. 16388, preserved at the Marʿashī Library in Qum, contains the first volume of *Kitāb al-Sunan*, authored by the renowned hadith scholar Ibn Mājah (d. 273 AH/887 CE). This copy, consisting of 127 folios in the naskh script, spans from the beginning to the end of chapter 23, *Kitāb al-waṣāyā*.[5] On the first folio, a brief note records Ibn Mājah's birth, death, and burial location, based on the book *al-Taqyīd* by Ibn Nuqṭa. Written by the manuscript's primary copyist, it is positioned in the upper left corner of the first folio and reads:

> The biography of the author ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī: He was born in the year 209 AH and died on Monday, 22 Ramaḍān 273 AH, and was buried on Tuesday. God's peace be upon him. This was stated by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Abū Bakr ibn Nuqṭa al-Baghdādī in his book *al-Taqyīd li-maʿrifat al-ruwāt wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*.[6]

5 Marʿashī, *Fihrist-i nuskhah hā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhānah-i Āyat Allāh Marʿashī Najafī*, vol. 41, 531-533.

6 Fol. 1a:
"ترجمة المؤلّف لأبى عبدالله محمّد القزوينى ولد 902 هجرى و توفّى يوم الإثنين ثمان بقين من شهر رمضان سنة 372 و دفن يوم الثّلثاء رحمه الله تعالى. قاله محمّد بن عبدالغنى بن أبى بكر بن نقطة البغدادى فى كتابه التقييد لمعرفة السنن و المسانيد."

According to the colophon, the manuscript's copyist was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī, who completed the work in 562 AH/1167 CE:

> And the completion of *Kitāb al-waṣāyā* was … the ninth of the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, five hundred and sixty-two of the hegira. May God bless its founder and reader. Grateful to God, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī.[7]

Further information about the scribe is found in a note on the first folio, which clarifies that al-Qazwīnī was a jurist (*faqīh*) from Hamadān who died there in 582 AH/1186 CE:

> Biography of the scribe: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī, the jurist, died in Hamadān in the year five hundred and eighty-two of the hegira.[8]



Figure 2: Fol. 1, Qum, Marʿashī Library, No. 16388, including the ijāza

Other sources confirm that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī, a prominent jurist and hadith scholar (*muḥaddith*) who passed away in 582 AH/1186 CE. Many Iranian hadith scholars traveled from various cities to Hamadān to hear hadith from al-Qazwīnī.[9] For instance, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin ibn ʿAbd ʿAmīd al-Ṣūfī al-Abharī, originally

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7 Fol. 126b:
"و كان الفراغ من الوصايا … تاسع من شهر ربيع الاول إثنين و ستين و خمسمائة أحسن الله القائمة فيها و فيما تليها بمنّه و كرمه على يد أقلّ عباد الله تعالى عبدالله بن حيدر بن ابى القاسم القزوينى حامد الله تعالى."

8 Fol. 1a:
"ترجمة الكاتب: ابوالقاسم عبدالله بن حيدر بن ابى القاسم القزوينى الفقيه المتوفّى بهمدان سنة اثنين و ثمانين و خمسمائة 285."

9 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh-i Baghdād*, 15, ed. al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 276.

from Zanjān, went to Hamadān to listen to hadith recitation by al-Qazwīnī and became a jurist after learning about hadith and Islamic jurisprudence from him.

Similarly, Al-Ṣafadī recounts a story involving Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, a hadith scholar and author of *Tārīkh-i Baghdād*, who died in 463 AH/1071 CE.[10] Other scholars, such as al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Hazemī al-Hamadānī, a famous hadith scholar from Hamadān who died in Baghdad in 584 AH/1189 CE, studied under al-Qazwīnī during the second half of the 6th century.[11] Maḥmūd ibn Asʿad al-ʿAqili and al-Khalīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl al-Qazwīnī also heard hadiths from him in Hamadān.[12] Based on these accounts, it is plausible that the manuscript written by al-Qazwīnī was originally copied in Hamadān.[13]

Despite appearances, the Marʿashī copy contains an *ijāza* (reading permission) that changes the perspective on its origins. This permission, transcribed by the Marʿashī copy's scribe, actually dates to the first half of the 9th century AH and not to the 6th century, when al-Qazwīnī lived.[14] We can date the *ijāza* because some individuals mentioned in it are known to have lived during the 8th and 9th centuries AH. For instance, Abū Zurʿa al-ʿIrāqī, mentioned in the *ijāza*, died in 826 AH/1422 CE, indicating that the Marʿashī copy was produced not before the first half of the 9th century AH.

According to the *ijāza*, the Marʿashī copy was transcribed from Muḥammad ibn Suleymān's copy, and the scribe claimed permission (*al-majāz*) for hadith transmission from Muḥammad ibn Suleymān. However, the copyist of the Marʿashī manuscript cannot have been Muḥammad ibn Suleymān since whoever it was had permission from him. Unfortunately, the Marʿashī copyist did not reveal his identity, though he clearly transcribed the copy from Muḥammad ibn Suleymān's codex. Muḥammad ibn Suleymān himself copied his manuscript from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī's original, and while he did not record his own date of transcription, he included the date of al-Qazwīnī's original (9 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 562 AH [1167 CE]). The identity of the copyist and date of transcription of the Marʿashī copy remain unknown.

The high prestige of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī likely motivated subsequent hadith scholars to preserve the details of his original manuscript. His reputation stemmed from being one of the main narrators of Ibn Mājah's hadiths and for transcribing a personal copy in his own handwriting.

However, Muḥammad ibn Suleymān chose to use al-Qazwīnī's manuscript as a source not solely because of al-Qazwīnī's prestige but also due to the significance of the manuscript itself. The Marʿashī copy's unknown scribe replicated the colophon verbatim, preserving Muḥammad ibn Suleymān's name. Without the inclusion of his *ijāza* at the manuscript's outset, it would have been challenging to recognize that the Marʿashī copyist was not the primary scribe.

10 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 19, ed. Ritter, 137.

11 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 41, ed. al-Tadmurī, 199.

12 Al-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, 1, al-ʿAṭāridī, 223.

13 Al-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, 2, al-ʿAṭāridī, 498.

14 Fol. 1a.

The *ijāza* of Muḥammad ibn Suleymān[15] lists several hadith narrators, some of whom are identifiable while others remain obscure. Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazāʾirī appears in a local Algerian hadith book,[16] although his death date is unknown. Another, Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, was a Nayshapur-based narrator who died in 427 AH.[17] Meanwhile, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṣimī and Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī are mentioned in a North African *ijāza*, but their death dates remain uncertain.[18]

Muḥammad ibn Suleymān seems to have combined multiple *ijāzas,* as he includes narrators spanning various time periods, like Abū Zurʿa al-ʿIrāqī, who died in 826 AH, and Abū Isḥāq Nābulusī, who died in 772 AH.[19] The last narrator mentioned, ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Hāfiẓ ibn Badr, died in 678 AH.[20] Thus Muḥammad ibn Suleymān may have amalgamated different permissions in his *ijāza* without paying attention to chronological order, or perhaps the Marʿashī copy's scribe mistakenly reversed their order. Either way, the presence of a 9th-century scholar in the Marʿashī manuscript shows that its date of copying is not 562 AH, and the scribe is not ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī. In addition to the names mentioned in the *ijāza*, which prove that the manuscript belongs to the first half of the 9th century AH, the type of paper in the manuscript also testifies that the manuscript does not date back to the 6th century AH.

Moving al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from Hamadān to Damascus

During the Umayyad period (661-750 CE), the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus was the Caliphate's central mosque. After the Umayyad dynasty's fall, the Abbasid caliphs expanded it, with Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ, a relative of Caliph Abū Jaʿfar Manṣūr, constructing the Qubbat al-Māl dome on the mosque's western side.[21]

Hadith readings continued in the Umayyad Mosque under Abbasid ideology. In the latter half of the 5th century AH, Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī participated in sessions conducted by Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.[22] Although the mosque's Sunni focus was disrupted during the Fatimid rule, the Great Seljuq conquests restored Damascus to Abbasid influence.[23]

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15 Fol. 1a:
"نقلت من ظهر نسخة شيخنا العلامة محمد بن سليمان المنقولة منها هذه النسخة فالصحة بخطه الحمدلله. أخبرنا أبى عبدالله محمد بن يزيد بن ماجه ابوعثمان سعيد بن ابراهيم الجزائرى سماعا بعدها و اجازة لجميعها عن أبى عثمان سعيد بن محمد المقرى عن أبى يزيد عبدالرحمن بن على بن أحمد العاصمى الشهير بسقين عن ولى الله تعالى أبى العباس أحمد و يروى عن أبى زيد سيّدى عبدالرحمن الثعالبى عن ابى زرعة أحمد بن عبدالرحيم العراقى عن أبى اسحاق ابراهيم بن عبدالله بن أحمد بن بدران النابلسى عن عمادالدين عبدالحافظ بن بدر المذكور. اوّل هذا الاصل به. قال محمد بن سليمان كان الله له مصليا مسلما انتها. و لى منه اجازة عامة فى جميع مروياته."

16 Ḥifnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-rijāl al-salaf*, 1, ed. Abū al-Ajfān and Baṭīkh, 151.

17 Fārisī, *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, ed. Ṣarīfīnī, 363.

18 Ḥifnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-rijāl al-salaf*, 1, ed. Abū al-Ajfān and Baṭīkh, 151.

19 Fāsī, *Taʿrīf dhawī al-ʿulā bi-man lam yadhkuruhu al-Dhahabī*, ed. Arnāʾūṭ and Būshī, 207.

20 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 18, ed. Ritter, 58.

21 Al-Naʿīmī al-Dimashqī, *al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris*, 2, ed. Shams al-Dīn, 296.

22 Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 3, ed. ʿUmairāt, 222.

23 Burns, *Damascus: A History*, 166.

Hadith reading and hearing and the composition of new hadiths in the Umayyad Mosque were well documented between the 3rd and 6th centuries AH.[24] Scientific activities persisted even after the 7th-century Mongol invasion, as noted by Ibn Battuta, who in 726 AH/1325 CE observed many Qur'an and hadith teaching sessions in the mosque.[25]

To facilitate these sessions, the Umayyad Mosque maintained a vast library for scholars. Medieval Islamic mosques functioned as centers of learning, particularly for Qur'anic and hadith studies. They were key venues for copying, storing, and accessing books, often used by both scholars and the public. For instance, the 5th-century AH hadith scholar Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Faḍl donated his books to the Umayyad Mosque's library.[26]

Considering that al-Qazwīnī's manuscript was a copy of the *Kitāb al-Sunan* by Ibn Mājah, did this book's content influence its transmission? To answer this question, it is essential to understand more about *Kitāb al-Sunan* and its author.[27] The author, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Rabaʿī al-Qazwīnī, known as Ibn Mājah (209-273 AH/824-887 CE), was one of the greatest Sunni *muḥaddith*s and wrote the last book of *al-Siḥāḥ al-sitta* (Sunni collections of hadiths). Like other prominent hadith scholars, he traveled to different cities, listening to the Prophet's hadiths from various narrators. He began learning hadiths from narrators in his hometown, Qazvīn, before traveling to Ray, Nayshābūr, Baghdad, and other cities to collect stories about the Prophet's life.[28] The *Kitāb al-Sunan* is the culmination of the knowledge he gathered during his travels and through listening to hadith narrations.

It took about 300 years for *Kitāb al-Sunan* to be recognized as one of the books of *al-Siḥāḥ al-sitta.* Initially, its hadiths were narrated only in Qazvīn before gradually spreading to other cities in Iran.[29] The first people to propose *Kitāb al-Sunan* by Ibn Mājah as the sixth book of *al-Siḥāḥ al-sitta* were Ibn-ʿAsākir and Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī.[30] The similarity between the isnād (chain of transmission) in *Kitāb al-Sunan* and those in hadith collections from the 6th century AH onwards indicates that Ibn Mājah's hadiths first became widely known in Iran, followed by Iraq and Syria, and eventually in Egypt. Once *Kitāb al-Sunan* was acknowledged as one of the primary compilations of Sunni hadiths, scholars began writing commentaries on it. The most prominent commentaries are by ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Niʿma al-Anṣārī (566 AH/1171 CE), ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (557-629 AH/1162-1231 CE), Ibn al-Mulaqqin (723-804 AH/1323-1401 CE), and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṣūyūṭī (849-911 AH/1445-1505 CE).

24 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 5, ed. Shīrī, 128, 202; 11, ed. Shīrī, 119; 14, ed. Shīrī, 24, 28, 38; 41, ed. Shīrī, 292; 43, ed. Shīrī, 237.

25 Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭūṭa*, 1, ed. al-Hādī Tāzī, 314.

26 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 5, ed. Shīrī, 66.

27 The best and most accurate edition of *Kitāb al-Sunan* was done by Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf in 1998. Based on Maʿrūf's edition, the *Kitāb al-Sunan* has 4,341 hadiths arranged in 38 chapters. The book of Ibn Mājah is written based on the subjects of Islamic jurisprudence, so starts with the *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* and ends with the *Kitāb al-Zuhd*.

28 Al-Rāfi al-Qazwīn, *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, 2, al-ʿAṭāridī, 49; Ibn Nuqṭa, *al-Taqyīd li-maʿrifat al-ruwāt wa-l-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, 1, ed. al-Tashādī, 281.

29 Ibn Nuqṭa, *al-Taqyīd li-maʿrifat al-ruwāt*, 1, ed. al-Tashādī, 282.

30 Kâtip Çelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub*, vol. 1, 103.

According to Iranian manuscript catalog statistics, only two copies of *Kitāb al-Sunan* have survived in Iranian libraries,[31] both held in the Ayatollah al- Marʿashī al-Najafī Library in Qum.[32] Manuscript No. 16388, which is the focus of this article, was previously dated to 562 AH/1167 CE, but this research suggests it actually belongs to the 9th century AH. The catalogers of the Marʿashī Library were misled by the manuscript's marginal notes, most of which date to before the Mongol invasion era and the looting of Baghdad. Al-Qazwīnī's manuscript's significance is partly due to the status of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī, who was not only a narrator but also the scribe of Ibn Mājah's hadiths, which made this manuscript valuable enough to be transferred from one city to another.

Another reason for transferring al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from Hamadān to Damascus was the superior status of hadith studies in Damascus compared to Hamadān. This is supported by the *ijāzas* (licenses) for transmitting hadiths copied by Damascus scholars, which are present in the Marʿashī manuscript but originate from the original al-Qazwīnī's manuscript. Several marginal notes copied on the last folio differ in script from the main text and appear to have been written later. These notes, dated between the late 6th century AH and the late 8th century AH, were written continuously in a spiral form, appearing on the back of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript.

The Marʿashī copy, like many medieval Islamic manuscripts, includes a number of additional folios following the main text. The scribe who wrote notes on the last folio, perhaps worried that these additional pages could be lost, chose to record all the information about reading sessions on this final folio's margin. This may explain why the scribe wrote the notes consecutively, making full use of the available margin space.

Among these notes are various certificates of listening and reading (*al-samāʿ* and *al-qirāʾah*) from different occasions involving al-Qazwīnī's manuscript. However, two particular notes stand out, as they reveal the manuscript's journey from Damascus to Baghdad. Before examining its broader circulation, let us first consider how the manuscript was utilized in Damascus, as evidenced by the surviving certificates.

The first *qirāʾa* of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript occurred in 595 AH/1199 CE. The note is written on the last folio, starting from the upper-right corner and extending to the left. This annotation informs us that in 595 AH/1199 CE, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad al-Khashshab al-Khaṭīb, Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAbbāsī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Maʾmūn, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī, and Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAbbāsī all read al-Qazwīnī's manuscript under Abū Zurʿa Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī.[33]

31 Dirāyatī, *Fankhā*, vol. 18, 419.

32 The other copy of the *Kitāb al-Sunan* is manuscript No. 15861 in Marʿashī Library; see Marʿashī, *Fihrist-i nuskhah hā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhānah-i Āyat Allāh Marʿashī Najafī*, vol. 40, 295.

33 Fol. 127a. The note is:
"سمع و جميع هذا الجزء على الشيخ الصالح ابى زرعه طاهر بن محمد بن طاهر المقدسى بقراءه الشيخ الأجل ابى محمد عبدالله بن احمد بن احمد بن احمد الخشاب الخطيب العالم ابوالحسن احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن على بن عبدالعزيز العباسى و ... ابومحمد عبدالله بن احمد بن على بن هبة الله بن المأمون و ابوالحسن على و كتب حمزه بن على بن حمزة فى يوم من سنة 595ق."

The date of this *samāʿ* is 33 years after the original al-Qazwīnī's manuscript was copied. The manuscript was recited to Abū Zurʿa Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, a hadith scholar in Hamadān like al-Qazwīnī and the narrator of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī al-Hamadānī.[34] Thus, Abū Zurʿa narrated both *Kitāb al-Sunan* by al-Nasāʾī and *Kitāb al-Sunan* by Ibn Mājah, which had previously been recited to him by ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī al-Qurashī, from whom he received an *ijāza*.[35] Given that Abū Zurʿa al-Maqdisī died in 564 AH/1169 CE[36] and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad died in 586 AH/1190 CE,[37] it is plausible that the Hamza ibn ʿAlī ibn Hamza who wrote the certificate note 31 years after the recitation of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript may have been Hamza ibn ʿAlī ibn Hamza al-Fāris al-Baghdādī, who died on 18 Dhū al-Hijja 602 AH/26 July 1206 CE.[38]

Another marginal note, located in the top left corner of fol. 126b of the Marʿashī copy, reveals that the original manuscript was recited by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Mūsā ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī to Abū Muḥammad ibn Qudāma on Sunday, 7 Jumādā al-Awwal 619 AH/19 June 1222, at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus.[39] This note indicates that al-Qazwīnī's manuscript was being used by Syrian hadith scholars at the beginning of the 7th century AH. The scribe mistakenly wrote "Ibn Mūsā" instead of "Abū Mūsā" in this *samāʿ* note. Abū Mūsā ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī was known for his skill in reciting texts, as evidenced by a manuscript that al-Dhahabī read and noted was recited by al-Maqdisī in 624 AH/1227 CE.[40]

Finally, another note, dated 25 Rajab 631 AH/26 April 1234 CE, mentions that a group of narrators listened to the hadiths of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from Muḥammad ʿĪsā, and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad subsequently heard it from one of those listeners. He then recorded this testimony on the back of the copy and certified it. This *samāʿ* was held in multiple gatherings (*majlis*), though the note does not specify where. Nevertheless, the manuscript likely remained in Damascus at that time.

These marginal notes in the Marʿashī copy contain valuable information from earlier manuscripts, reflecting events involving al-Qazwīnī's manuscript over various periods. A scribe incorporated them into the margin of the Marʿashī copy's last folio, ensuring their authenticity. Consequently, these notes accurately document events related to the original manuscript of al-Qazwīnī, which were later recorded by Muḥammad ibn Suleymān and then reflected in the current Marʿashī copy.

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34 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 41, ed. al-Tadmurī, 199.

35 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 39, ed. al-Tadmurī, 247.

36 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 20, ed. Arnāʾūṭ, 504.

37 Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 41, ed. ʿUmairāt, 235.

38 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 21, ed. Arnāʾūṭ, 442.

39 Fol. 127a. The certificate states: "I got the certification of listening in my handwriting, and it is from the chapter 'Remembrance of death and preparation for it' from Shaykh Abū Muḥammad ibn Qudāma, read by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Mūsā ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī on Sunday, the seventh of Jumādā al-Awwal in the year six hundred and nineteen of the hegira, in the Mosque of Damascus. Praise be to God only."
"بلغت سماعا من البلاغ بخطی و هو من باب و الذکر الموت و الإستعداد له عن الشیخ ابومحمد بن قدامه بقراءة الحافظ ابن موسی ابن عبدالغنی المقدسی فی الیوم الاحد السابع جمادی الاولی سنة تسع عشرة و ستمائه بجامع دمشق الحمدلله وحده ن."

40 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 20, ed. Arnāʾūṭ, 570.

Moving al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from Damascus to the library of the last Abbasid caliph

While the surviving certificates in the final folios of the Marʿashī copy detail how al-Qazwīnī's manuscript traveled from Hamadān to Damascus in the early 13th century CE, additional evidence in the paratext suggests that its journey did not stop there. The earlier notes pertained to hadith readings at the Great Mosque of Damascus, while two other notes in the Marʿashī copy's margins reveal not only that al-Qazwīnī's manuscript was transported to Baghdad but also provide intriguing insights into the political history of that period.

One of these notes, "[This book] entered the library of Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-Mustaʿṣim bi-'llāh in the year six hundred and thirty-five of the hegira",[41] reveals that al-Qazwīnī's manuscript became part of the last Abbasid caliph's library in 635 AH/1237 CE. This demonstrates that the manuscript remained in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus until 1237 CE, after which its value and significance led to its transfer to Baghdad. The question arises: why was al-Qazwīnī's manuscript moved to Baghdad from Damascus, especially given that Damascus was a prominent center of Islamic scholarship and hadith studies?

Baghdad, as the center of the Islamic world in the early 13th century, had a long-standing tradition of receiving valuable manuscripts from other Islamic cities. For instance, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Tājir, a renowned hadith scholar from Damascus, requested that his children donate his manuscripts to the library of the al-Zaidī Mosque in Baghdad after his death.[42] Similarly, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī donated his manuscripts to the same mosque and entrusted them to ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, who transported them from Damascus to Baghdad.[43]

Baghdad's significance led to the establishment of vast libraries during the Abbasid era, some of which were private collections belonging to scholars. For instance, the library of Ibn al-Māristānīyya was a prominent public library that became the main library in Baghdad during Ilkhanid rule.[44] The city's elite, including court officials, dignitaries, and wealthy individuals, also maintained personal collections. For example, Ibn al-ʿAlqamī, vizier to al-Mustaʿṣim, had over 10,000 books in his personal library.[45]

Hadith sessions were especially popular in Baghdad, surpassing those in Damascus, because Baghdad was the seat of the Islamic Caliphate and a focal point of scholarship.

The Seljuq dominance over the Abbasid Caliphate's political structure bolstered Sunni hadith scholars. Notable figures from Baghdad, like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Jawzī[46], ʿAlī ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Zāghūnī[47], and Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Hāzimī[48], advocated for the Abbasid Caliphate's ideology by disseminating Islamic knowledge through hadith readings.

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41 Fol. 127b. The text is:
"دخل بخزانة أمير المؤمنين مستعصم بالله حفظه الله فى السنة خمس و ثلاثين و ستمائه."

42 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh-i Baghdād*, 15, ed. al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 285.

43 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 6, ed. ʿAbbās, 139.

44 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh-i Baghdād*, 17, ed. al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 66; Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 472.

45 Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī fī al-ādāb al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Māyo, 321.

46 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 3, ed. ʿAbbās, 140.

47 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 20, ed. Arnāʾūṭ, 278.

48 Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-janān*, 3, ed. Manṣūr, 325.

This hadith transmission relied on manuscripts, increasing the demand for hadith literature in Baghdad.

Additionally, the presence of the Crusaders in Syria likely expedited the relocation of valuable manuscripts to Baghdad, as some feared their destruction in Damascus. While this is speculative without explicit evidence from the Marʿashī copy, the marginal note does state that al-Qazwīnī's manuscript was housed in al-Mustaʿṣim's library. According to historical sources, pre-Mongol Baghdad had several types of libraries, with the most significant being the libraries of the caliphs. Al-Qalqashandī, as cited by Michal Biran, indicated that the largest libraries in Baghdad before the Mongol invasion belonged to the Abbasid caliphs.[49]

> The first, the library of the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad, which included books beyond measure that were valuable beyond anything else. It had been like this until the Mongols destroyed Baghdad and their king Hulāgū killed al-Mustaʿṣim, the last of their Caliphs in Baghdad, and the library went as all the earth, its traces were gone, and its remnants distributed.[50]

The Abbasid caliphs maintained opulent personal libraries, often dedicating them to madrasas or other large libraries in Baghdad. For instance, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh divided his personal collection among the libraries of the al-Musanāt School, the al-Rubāt al-Khātūnī Library, and the al-Madrasa al-Niẓāmiyya.[51] In another report, it is claimed that Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-'llāh amassed 140,000 manuscripts, donating 80,000 of them to the library of the al-Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya.[52] Al-Dhahabī reported that he transferred 180 packages of manuscripts from his palace to this library, intending to equip it with ample resources, as he had built it across from the al-Madrasa al-Niẓāmiyya.

Al-Mustaʿṣim was a caliph with a great passion for books. He spent much of his time in libraries, often reading and signing official request letters there.[53] According to Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, Al-Mustaʿṣim established a personal library to house his exquisite collection of books and entrusted its management to Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin ibn Yūsuf Urmawī, who copied valuable books for him.[54] After this new library was set up, Al-Mustaʿṣim never returned to the previous one, which remained in the care of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Nayyār.[55] This indicates that there were two libraries in the Dār al-Khilāfa (the caliphal palace): a public library of the former caliphs and a private collection maintained by Al-Mustaʿṣim.

Al-Mustaʿṣim likely later appointed Ibn al-Nayyār as the head of his personal library because, according to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's account, he initially entrusted Ibn al-Nayyār with his library. Al-Mustaʿṣim ascended to the caliphate on Friday, 10 Jumādā II 640 AH/5 December

49 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, 1, ed. Shams al-Dīn, 537.

50 Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 467.

51 Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Dārāʾī, 370.

52 Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, ed. Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, 187.

53 Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī fī al-ādāb al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Māyo, 319.

54 Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī fī al-ādāb al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Māyo, 318.

55 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Maʿrūf, 192.

1242 CE, the day his father, Al-Mustanṣir, passed away, and appointed the head of his personal library on the same day.[56] Given this context, it is puzzling that the marginal note indicates that the manuscript entered the caliphal library in 635 AH/1237 CE, which was before Al-Mustaʿṣim's ascension.[57]

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī provides a clear timeline for the establishment of Al-Mustaʿṣim's personal library, reporting that it was ordered for construction in 641 AH/1243 CE.[58] If the scribe accurately transcribed the date from al-Qazwīnī's manuscript to the Marʿashī copy, there are two plausible explanations for the discrepancy. The first is that al-Qazwīnī's manuscript might have been in Al-Mustaʿṣim's possession before his accession to the caliphate, only moving to the main library at Dār al-Khilāfa after his coronation. However, this theory remains problematic because it is unclear why Al-Mustaʿṣim is referred to as "Amīr al-Muʾminīn" in the note, a title he would not have earned until becoming caliph.

The second possibility is that the note represents an *ʿarḍ-i did*, or "re-inspection of the library books", written by Abbasid librarians. A key duty of these librarians was to date the books entering the library and detail their conditions of endowment. For instance, a book from Mashhad Abū Ḥanīfa in Baghdad includes a detailed description of the manuscript's endowment, dated to 604 AH/1207 CE.[59] Thus, the librarian responsible for al-Mustaʿṣim's personal library knew the manuscript's original entry date and likely recorded the note during a later re-inspection. Examples of such *ʿarḍ-i did*s exist in manuscripts from Āstān-i Quds-i Raẓavī (Mashhad), Golestān Palace, and the National Library of Iran (Tehran).

Therefore, al-Qazwīnī's manuscript traveled from Damascus to al-Mustaʿṣim's personal library in Baghdad. The lack of information in the marginal notes of the Marʿashī copy about the purchase or sale of the manuscript suggests it was not bought from book dealers. Although it is unclear how it was transferred, it was undoubtedly used in the Umayyad Mosque in the 6th century AH and then located in Baghdad by the 7th century AH.

Saving al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from the banks of the Tigris

A marginal note in the Marʿashī copy records a unique incident not typically found in such annotations. According to this note, a person named Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Abū al-Fawāris saved al-Qazwīnī's manuscript after the Mongols discarded it on the banks of the Tigris River:

> I picked this book up from the bank of the Tigris after the Mongols threw it away in the year six hundred and fifty-six of the hegira. I'm the one in need of God, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Abū al-Fawāris.[60]

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56 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Maʿrūf, 192.

57 Al-Sūyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Ṣāliḥ, 547-549.

58 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Maʿrūf, 212.

59 Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Jawād, 236.

60 Fol. 127b. This note is:
"لقد انتشلت هذا الكتاب من مصرف دجلة بعد أن رماه التتر و ذلک سنة ست و خمسين و ستمائة الهجرة. و أنا الفقير إليه تعالى محمد بن احمد بن ابى بكر بن ابى الفوارس بن شعيب."

The date of the note is 656 AH/1258 CE, so it likely references an incident at the beginning of that year. According to historical sources, Baghdad fell at the end of Muharram 656 AH/ January 1258 CE, and the destruction and killings reportedly persisted for forty days after that.[61] The Mongol conquest of Baghdad was extremely violent, devastating institutions like schools and libraries. However, historians have traditionally emphasized the death toll over the cultural destruction.[62]

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61 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 13, ed. Shehadeh, 202.

62 While Baghdad endured previous sieges by Turkic forces, the Mongol conquest inflicted a level of carnage and destruction that remains unparalleled in the city's history. In an unprecedented event the caliph was killed and for the first time in the history of Baghdad after Islam, a non-Muslim (Hulāgū) ruled there. Initially Baghdadi institutions suffered greatly and a considerable number of people were killed in Baghdad. Muslim historians paid attention to the number of dead rather than describing the severity of the destruction. However, based on the number of dead in Baghdad, the amount of destruction can be guessed. Primary sources have reported the number of casualties in Baghdad from several hundred thousand to two million people (Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i guzīdah*, ed. Nawāʾī, 369; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Maʿrūf, 360; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 13, ed. Shehadeh, 202). The sheltering of many fugitives from the eastern cities, who had come to the capital of the Islamic world as a result of the Mongol invasion, had led to a further increase in the population of Baghdad (Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, 231). It is clear that the claim that all or even the majority of the inhabitants of Baghdad were killed could have been a great exaggeration on the part of the Muslim historians who were nostalgic about the caliphate. Naturally, if the majority of the people of the city had been killed, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Abū al-Fawāris could not have taken the al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from the banks of the Tigris and preserved it. Moreover, after establishing his rule over Baghdad, Hulāgū ordered its reconstruction, ordering public buildings to be repaired and the al-Madāris and the al-Masājid and the caravanserais to reopen (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Maʿrūf, 362). Some researchers in recent years have tried to minimize the destruction of Baghdad and other Islamic cities by the Mongols. For example, Bernard Lewis doubted the scale of the destruction by the Mongols in Islamic lands. He believed that 20th-century researchers could judge history better than the 19th-century orientalists. Lewis considered the great orientalists of the 19th century, such as Edward G. Browne and Wilhelm Barthold, to be influenced by the earlier Romantic School. To justify his claim against the research of these orientalists, Lewis even cited articles by some unknown Iraqi researchers about the economic effects of the Mongol invasion in Baghdad (Lewis, *Islam in History*, 179-198). In this belief, Lewis is similar to Michal Biran, who attributes the origin of the idea of widespread destruction in Baghdad to "popular and semi-popular works in both Arabic and Western languages" (Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 465). However, David Morgan rightly criticized Lewis's opinion and attributed it to a contemporary looking at the events of the Middle Ages. He believed that Lewis, because he had seen two world wars and the devastation caused by them, underestimated Genghis's devastation. According to Morgan, it is not convincing that just because Hitler had more lethal weapons, Genghis was unable to carry out an equally dreadful massacre (Morgan, *The Mongols*, 79). But other researchers are inclined to agree with Lewis due to the rapid reconstruction of Baghdad after the Mongol invasion. For example, Biran considers the narratives of the destruction of Baghdad to be born from the minds of Arab, Iranian, and Turkish nationalists to create a theory of the decline of Islamic civilization against the growth of Western civilization, the last example of which was the Muslim attempt to compare the Mongol invasion of Baghdad with the American occupation of Iraq (Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 495). In other words, the Mongol conquest of Baghdad has been used as a metaphor for the US military occupation of Iraq. She says that the migration of the international elite to Baghdad and its scientific and industrial prosperity, the circulation of goods by land and sea to Baghdad to transfer them to the east and west, the production of more manuscripts in various disciplines in Baghdad after the domination Mongols over this city, and finally the continuation of intellectual and religious conflicts and sectarian disputes in the Ilkhanid era show that Baghdad was not destroyed on a large scale (Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad, 185-205). For her, the view has arisen because of the belief that the devastating invasion of the Mongols ended the flourishing of Arab civilization (Biran, Baghdad under Mongol rule, 286). In other words, because Muslims think that the

Michal Biran's research provides a detailed list of public and private libraries in Baghdad during the Ilkhanate era, highlighting the richness of the city's literary heritage under Mongol rule.[63] She contends that the reported scale of destruction was exaggerated by Muslim historians because reconstruction began quickly, with Baghdad's economy and culture rapidly reviving.[64] Other researchers studying Baghdad's manuscripts note that scholarly activity during the Ilkhanate period contradicts claims of widespread devastation.[65]

Certainly, some Muslim historians' descriptions of the Mongol conquest of Baghdad appear fictional. For instance, al-Nahrawānī's account claims that the Mongols threw so many books from Baghdad's schools into the Euphrates that a bridge was formed for soldiers to cross, and that the river turned black from ink. This legend-like report, particularly the confusion of the Euphrates with the Tigris, undermines its reliability.[66]

While some researchers rightly argue that the survival of public libraries and private collections, alongside the continued production of manuscripts, demonstrates resilience,[67] it does not imply that Baghdad's libraries were unscathed. Michal Biran acknowledges that the Mongols damaged the city's book collections.[68] Primary sources confirm that the invasion severely impacted cultural institutions, stalling their operations for an extended period. For instance, the Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya only reopened at the end of 657 AH/1259 CE,[69] and its library resumed operations at the same time.

No one has argued that the Mongol invasion led to the total destruction of Baghdad's libraries. Reconstruction of Baghdad began immediately after the conquest, and cultural institutions resumed their activities because the Mongols did not want to govern over ruins. However, this does not imply that the Mongol impact on Baghdad and its libraries was insignificant. The vitality of scientific circles in Ilkhanid-era Baghdad does not mean that the city was left undamaged during the invasion, since the initial conquest was followed by Mongol rule.[70]

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golden age of their civilization ended with the invasion of the Mongols (Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad, 71), they have developed such narratives. However, non-Islamic sources also have reports similar to the Islamic ones. For example, a letter sent by the Mongols themselves to the king of France after their occupation of Baghdad refers to a high number of casualties (Meyvaert, An unknown letter of Hulagu, 256). The account of Chang-Te, the ambassador of Möngke Khān to Hulāgū, is another example of such a report (Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 138). Similarly, Ibn al-ʿIbrī, as a non-Muslim historian whose book is in Arabic, reports that the majority of the population of Baghdad was killed, without mentioning the number of losses (Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 279).

63 Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 476-480.

64 Biran, Baghdad under Mongol rule, 309-310.

65 Biran, Ilkhanid Baghdad, 72.

66 Al-Nahrawānī, *Kitāb al-iʿlām*, ed. ʿAṭā, 206.

67 De Nicola, A manuscript witness, 73.

68 Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 471.

69 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb*, 2, ed. Maʿrūf, 139.

70 The Ilkhans made Baghdad flourish by employing prominent Persian officials, including members of the Juwaynī family and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, and by attracting members of the elite to Baghdad; see Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 491-493.

The marginal note in the Marʿashī manuscript can be seen as a report documenting the destruction of the library of the last Abbasid caliph. During crises in Baghdad, the destruction of cultural institutions was not unusual, so the city experienced significant devastation. In other words, this manuscript note provides new data on events in Baghdad that are not detailed in primary historical sources. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Abū al-Fawāris's account in the margin of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript seems to recount the same story: the Mongols allegedly threw books from al-Mustaʿṣim's library into the Tigris during the destruction of the caliphal palace, Dār al-Khilāfa, which was located on the riverbank.[71] After the Mongol soldiers entered the palace and looted the treasury, they likely disposed of some of the caliph's manuscripts in the river. The note was not added to the margin to inflate the manuscript's value or glorify Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad.

If some manuscripts from the caliph's library were thrown into the Tigris by the Mongols while others were preserved, one surviving work might be al-Qazwīnī's manuscript of *Kitāb al-Sunan* by Ibn Mājah. In his note, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Abū al-Fawāris used the verb *ramī* (رمى), meaning "to throw", indicating that Mongol soldiers did not intentionally discard all the library's books into the river. They likely threw some manuscripts out of windows or similar places out of anger or revenge. Since the library was near the Tigris, the books ended up on the riverbank. If the soldiers had deliberately thrown the books into the river, none would have survived.

Therefore, al-Qazwīnī's manuscript is possibly one of the books that were discarded near the caliphal palace, on the bank of the Tigris. The people of Baghdad may have rescued these books from the shoreline. Without Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad's account of saving this book, the Mongol destruction of the caliph's library might not have been documented as clearly. Considering that the copy No. 16388 of the Marʿashī reflects the notes of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript, this current copy we are studying is intact and has not been damaged.

However, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad's note does not imply that all the manuscripts in the Baghdad libraries were destroyed, as some members of the elite sought to protect valuable texts amid the political turmoil in Iraq. For instance, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī amassed many astronomy texts from Baghdad, Wasit, Basra, and the Jazira for the library of the Marāghah Observatory.[72]

Continuation of the scientific use of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript

After Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad allegedly rescued al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from the Tigris, it continued to serve as a source for hadith recitation and transmission. This is confirmed by a *samāʿ* note in the margins, written by Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, which indicates that ʿAbd al-Hādī heard the manuscript on 16 Ramaḍān 725 AH/26 August 1325 CE.[73] As the note does not specify where this reading took place, it is unclear whether the manuscript remained in Baghdad at that time or had been relocated.

71 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 11, ed. Shehadeh, 68.

72 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, ed. Maʿrūf, 382; Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 50, ed. al-Tadmurī, 114.

73 Fol. 127 b.

Nonetheless, 69 years after the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, manuscripts like this one were once again used for scholarly purposes in Iraq's Islamic institutions.[74] Another marginal note states that the manuscript was heard again 60 years after the earlier *samāʿ*, by Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad. This note reveals that between 725 AH/1325 CE and 785 AH/1383 CE, the manuscript was moved from Iraq to the Hijaz. In particular, ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad listened to al-Qazwīnī's manuscript from ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Nayshābūrī on 24 Rajab 785 AH (22 September 1383) in Mecca. The certificate states:

> I listened to this book from the beginning to the end from the shaykh, the imam, the hadith scholar, the *ḥāfiẓ*, Shaykh ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Nayshābūrī on the twenty-fourth of Rajab in the year seven hundred and eighty-five of the hegira in Holy Mecca. May God increase His glory and honor. Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad.[75]

It is plausible that one of the Iraqi hadith scholars brought al-Qazwīnī's manuscript to Mecca during pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj*), and after that, it may have been used there, possibly at the Masjid al-Ḥarām. This is the last evidence we have regarding the use and movement of the original manuscript of al-Qazwīnī. As mentioned earlier, in the first half of the 9th century, Muḥammad ibn Suleymān copied that original manuscript, meticulously including all the marginal notes.

The unknown scribe of the Marʿashī copy then transcribed Muḥammad ibn Suleymān's version, again transferring all the paratextual information. Later, a subsequent owner of the Marʿashī copy moved the information preserved by this scribe from the additional folios to the margin of the final folio of the Marʿashī copy itself.

These notes are maintained to verify the chain of narration, which is crucial in hadith studies. However, their importance for codicologists lies in tracing the journey of a manuscript from one region to another. Additionally, references to political and daily events in these notes provide valuable insights into issues often overlooked in primary historical sources.

Conclusion

Manuscript No. 16388 in the Marʿashī Library is one of the few available manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Sunan* by Ibn Mājah in Iranian libraries. Although the colophon identifies the scribe and copying date, marginal annotations reveal a more intricate history. The Marʿashī copy was transcribed from a 9th-century manuscript that itself was copied from the original. The original was produced in 562 AH/1167 CE by the notable ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī. Thus, the significance of the manuscript lies not only in its content but also in its association with a renowned hadith scholar. This could explain why later scribes who copied

74 For a useful study on the revival of the use of manuscripts in Baghdad after the Mongol invasion, see De Nicola, A manuscript witness, 70-108.

75 Fol. 127b:
"سماعا من الاول هذا الكتاب الى آخره عن الشيخ الامام المحدث الحافظ شيخ عفيف الدين النشابورى فى اليوم الرابع و العشرين من شهر رجب المرجب من سنة خمس و ثمانين و سبعمائه فى المكة المكرمة زاد الله تعظيما و تشريفا احمد بن على بن محمد."

this manuscript chose to only record their names and the date without including their details in the colophon.

Muḥammad ibn Suleymān is known as one of the scribes who copied al-Qazwīnī's manuscript due to a reading certificate note written by an unidentified scribe. Based on the hadith narrators listed in this *ijāza*, Muḥammad ibn Suleymān's manuscript was copied in the first half of the 9th century AH, suggesting that the Marʿashī copy was also likely produced in that century.

The historical significance of al-Qazwīnī's manuscript can be reconstructed from marginal notes on extra folios incorporated into Muḥammad ibn Suleymān's copy. The manuscript traveled from the shelves of a notable hadith scholar in Hamadān to being used in the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, before finding its way to the Abbasid caliph's library in Baghdad. There, it encountered the Mongol invasion and was reportedly rescued by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Abū al-Fawāris from the Tigris riverbanks, eventually making its way to Mecca to serve once more as a source for hadith studies. The Marʿashī copy is significant not only because of its attribution to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥaydar ibn Abū al-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī but also for its preserved marginal notes. These provide invaluable evidence that manuscripts are not just containers of textual knowledge but also privileged witnesses to the rich history of the Islamic world.

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Born in Baghdad: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī and the Composition of *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*

Hadi Jorati*

In this article we scrutinize the process of composition of the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* through a closer look at the manuscript corpus as well as clues from the text to shed some light on the process of its composition and early canonization, as well as the career of ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī (1226-1283), which is intertwined with it. To that end, a number of textual clues, stylistic observations, and other manuscript evidence is utilized to argue that despite its early canonization and wide acceptance in an assumed "final" form, the text of *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* suffers from numerous inner inconsistencies and is at least in parts of multiple authorship. We further make a case for it to have assumed its "final" form in Baghdad.

Keywords: Juwaynī, Ṭūsī, Baghdad, manuscripts, Ilkhanid, Qazvini

Introduction

Ever since the production of Muḥammad Qazvini's edition of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*,[1] which took place over a period of 25 years in the first half of the 20th century, it has been an indispensable source for historians of the Mongol Empire, in particular the history of the early campaigns of Chinggis Khan, the fall of the Khwarazmian Empire (1077-1231), and the western campaigns of Hülegü Khan in the 1250s. This was boosted after Andrew Boyle published an annotated translation of Qazvini's edition, together with a translation of Qazvini's substantial notes and the translator's own notes, in 1958.[2] Together with the other major Persian sources from the Ilkhanid period,[3] *Jahāngushā* provides valuable insights into the establishment of Mongol rule in Iran and its administration, both directly, through its

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1 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, ed. Qazvini. *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* remains one of the earliest and most important sources on the Mongol campaigns in the west from Chinggis Khan to Hülegü Khan and the establishment of the Ilkhanate, since the author, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī, was a Persian bureaucrat in the service of the Mongols in Khurasan and witnessed many of the events himself, as well as having access to various accounts and archives due to his position.

2 Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, and the reprint Boyle and Morgan, *Genghis Khan*.

3 Most notably, Rashīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf, Mustawfī, and Qāshānī.

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accounts of events, and indirectly, as an object of study onto itself, through critical inquiry into the process of its creation and dissemination.

Unsurprisingly, many of the sources from the period of Mongol expansion in the west, or the decades before, as well as the tumultuous but relatively brief period of Ilkhanid central rule, suffer from a variety of issues. These range from a complicated history of composition and transmission of the narratives of the Mongol conquest, to the reception and interpretation of those narratives in later periods (such as Timurid or Safavid) or by rival entities and parallel administrations (such as the Mamluks of Syria and Egypt). Furthermore, with a number of historiographical accounts of the period, there are notable inconsistencies within the textual corpus of the same work among its numerous manuscripts copied across centuries or in quotations by other pre-modern sources, or even within the same codex. This is perhaps clearest in the case of the massive oeuvre of *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* (henceforth *RJT*) produced by the Ilkhanid administrator and scholar Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallah Hamadānī (1247-1318), which has been a hotly debated topic among scholars, with some significant recent work on this issue.[4] This phenomenon is not confined to *RJT* or more generally to the Ilkhanid sources. Rather, in variations and degrees, it also appears in the Arabic sources of the Mamluk period. However, for the purpose of this study the focus will be limited to Persian sources of the Ilkhanid period.

While *RJT* provides an example par excellence of the complicated and convoluted textual histories of the Persian historiographies of the Ilkhanid period, such issues are by no means confined to that work. As noted by scholars who have shown the immense complexities of *RJT*, the root cause of these textual issues lies in the tumultuous politics of the Early Ilkhanid state and its effect on the process of composition and compilation of these works. As such, a prime candidate to showcase such issues, although far more limited in size than *RJT*, is ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*.

Yet, despite clear signs pointing to, and a certain degree of awareness of, the existence of similar issues with what is perhaps the most fundamental, certainly one of the earliest, firsthand sources on Ilkhanid Iran[5] – namely, the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* – we are still lacking a serious study on its manuscript tradition and the process of its composition by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī, as well as on its reception and canonization, based on manuscript evidence. Indeed, the unquestionably excellent work of Qazvini and Boyle, which led to the production of the English translation of *Jahāngushā* that is now widely available, perhaps lulled the field into treating it as a more or less "final" product of this uniquely important text and pushed aside the concerns about its murky history.

To find evidence of this complicated and problematic textual history, and the inconsistencies that are witness to it, one need not go too far. Apart from the specific issues which will be discussed in this paper, one notices that in Qazvini's edition a piece by a different author is included at the end of the third volume of *Jahāngushā*: the *dhayl* of the contemporary Persian

4 See Melville, Jāmeʿ al-Tawārīḵ; Mūsavī, Jāmīʿ al-Tawārīkh; and more substantially, Kamola, *Making Mongol History*.

5 Other than the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, the earliest sources in Persian include the account of Jūzjānī in *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, and in Arabic the short treatise by Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Baṭṭīṭī titled *Aḥwāl Mulūk al-Tatār al-Mughūl*.

Shīʿī polymath, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī,[6] containing an account of the fall of Baghdad and the end of the Abbasid Caliphate, punctuating the rather abrupt end of volume 3 with a report of the most significant event of that campaign. A closer look at the *Jahāngushā* soon uncovers Ṭūsī's pivotal role in the campaign on Baghdad, which is where Juwaynī was based in his capacity as governor of Iraq for nearly the rest of his career, having arrived in the entourage of Hülegü Khan. This should also point out the obvious fact that *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* as a whole, as available to us via Qazvini and Boyle, must have taken shape in Ilkhanid Baghdad.

ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī and the Mongols

A number of secondary sources include accounts of the life and career of the historian ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī,[7] though ultimately a more nuanced and critical study of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, as well as of several other members of the Juwaynī clan, is sorely lacking.[8] Born in 1226 CE into a distinguished family of scholars and administrators,[9] he entered the service of the Mongols at a young age,[10] probably when he was no older than 20. When his father Bahāʾ al-Dīn died, in 1253,[11] he had already served the Mongol administration of Khurasan for over ten years,[12] in the service of Arghūn Āqā. He had traveled with Arghūn Āqā[13] to Qaraqorum twice, first in 1247-1248 together with his father[14] as Arghūn Āqā's secretary, and the second time in 1249-1250, during which he stayed in Mongolia for over a year. His third trip to Mongolia was to attend the *quriltai* that appointed Möngke as the new Great Khan. Arghūn Āqā returned to Khurasan in September 1253, but ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn stayed behind in Qaraqorum until a new

6 The *dhayl* is appended to the end of the Qazvini edition, vol. 3, 280-292.

7 Short of a full bibliography, a few encyclopedia entries on this topic present a good digest. See Barthold and Boyle, ʿAṭā Malik Djuwaynī; Lane, Jovayni, ʿAlāʾ-al-Din; Sajjādī, Juwaynī, Abū al-Muẓaffar; also Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xi-lxxvi. More recently, Shabestarī, *Khāndān-e Juwaynī*.

8 On the issue of various competing fabricated genealogies of the Juwaynī family, see Qazvini's Introduction, vol. 1, summarized in Lane, Jovayni, ʿAlāʾ-al-Din. Shabestarī's discussion also largely relies on the data presented by Qazvini. Also compare Rajabzadeh, Jovayni family; Āl-e Dāvūd, Juwaynī, Khānedān. More recently two articles by Murtaḍā Dāneshyār dealing with Juwaynī and *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* also present a brief discussion on this issue; see Dāneshyār, Tārikhnegārī,-yi Aṭā Malik Juwaynī; Dāneshyār, Molāḥaẓāt-i dar bāb-i ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī. The Juwaynī clan traced their genealogy back to fellow Khurasani Persian nobleman and administrator, Faḍl ibn Rabīʿ, the chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of Caliph al-Amin and before him his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd. Faḍl was the son of Rabīʿ ibn Yūnus, who was, in turn, the chamberlain to caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. For more on this, see Ibn Ṭiqtiqā, *Fakhrī*, trans. Whitting, 239-240; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib*, ed. Rajāyī, 180-181.

9 Cf. Rajabzadeh, Jovayni family. His grandfather, Shams al-Dīn (senior) served Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, and later his son Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn on the run, until he died in Akhlāṭ in 1229 (cf. Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xv-xx).

10 Cf. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 3/1, ed. Dabīrsiyāqī, 95.

11 Cf. Khosrobeygī, *Sāzmān-e Edārī-ye Khwārazmshahiyān*.

12 Cf. Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 6-7:
به ممارست اشغال و ملابست اعمال در اکتساب علم اهمال ... و از نصیحت پدر خویش بهاء الدین محمد غافل ماندم
و.. حالا ۰۱ سال میشود که پاي در راه اغتراب نهاده از تحصیل اجتناب نموده و اوراق علوم نسج علیه العنکبوت شده

13 On Arghūn Aqā, see Lane, Arghun Aqa: Mongol Bureaucrat.

14 During the first trip, they never reached Qaraqorum, but rather returned to Khurasan when they received, somewhere near Talas, the news that Güyük Khan had died. Cf. Sajjādī, Juwaynī, Abū al-Muẓaffar.

yarligh was prepared appointing his father Bahāʾ al-Dīn as the *ṣāḥib dīwān*.[15] It was then that he started composing his book of history, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*.[16]

From 1256, with the arrival of Hülegü in Khurasan, ʿAṭā Malik served him instead. Arghūn Āqā left for the great *ordo*, after appointing his son Kerai Malik, Aḥmad Bitikchī, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī in charge of the affairs of Iraq, Khurasan, and Māzandarān.[17] Juwaynī accompanied Hülegü Khan in the westward campaign, which culminated in the fall of Baghdad in 1258.[18] Instead of joining the Syrian campaign, he stayed in Baghdad and was appointed governor the following year (1259). He held that post almost continuously until his death in the plains of Mughān in Azerbaijan in March 1283, after a prolonged episode of rivalry with fellow Ilkhanid administrator Majd al-Mulk Yazdī, and was buried in Tabriz in the Charandāb cemetery.[19] During the intrigues of the Mongol court, he was dismissed and re-instated as the governor of Baghdad a number of times, and was even briefly put in charge of the *Awqāf* of Mecca and Medina, under Tegüder Aḥmad.[20]

Juwaynī's position under Hülegü Khan was already on the rise during the campaign in 1253. After its departure from Shafūrqān near Balkh, the entourage passed by several localities that had been laid waste during the first Mongol campaigns under Chinggis Khan. At Khabūshān (Qūchān), Juwaynī pleaded with Hülegü Khan to repair some of the damage, and in response Hülegü apportioned funds from his own personal treasury (*khazāna-yi khāṣṣa*) for rebuilding the city.[21] During the siege of Maymundiz, one of the most important Ismaili fortresses of the Rūdbār region, where the Ismaili imam Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh resided, Juwaynī was the head of the envoy who delivered the conditions of the surrender and the transcript of Hülegü Khan's *amān* to Khūrshāh.[22] Qazvini holds that Juwaynī also had the privilege of inspecting the castles, especially the library of Alamūt, after it surrendered, following the fall of Maymundiz.[23]

For the remainder of his career, Juwaynī served as the governor of Baghdad, in all for 17 years, in an autonomous capacity, according to his own account in *Tasliyat al-Ikhwān*.[24] He

15 Cf. Sajjādī, Juwaynī, Abū al-Muẓaffar.

16 Cf. Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxiii-xxv. Qazvini also adds, on the motivation of Juwaynī, that he started this book "upon insistence of dear friends" (*bi khwāhash-i dūstān*); Lane, Jovayni, ʿAlāʾ-al-Din, and Mūsavī, Jahāngushā, have likewise interpreted this at face value, that perhaps some close confidant had enticed ʿAṭā Malik to start the composition. More likely, this is a formula, as it was used commonly in a number of prominent medieval Persian and Arabic texts, perhaps most notably in the *Gulastān* of Saʿdī of Shiraz, a contemporary of ʿAṭā Malik.

17 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxvi, corresponding to the text of *Jahāngushā*, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 259; also cf. Bahār, *Sabkshenāsī*, vol. 3, 58, who reports the same, on the authority of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr.

18 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xi-lx; Browne, *Literary History*, vol. 1, xix-xlvii; Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, xxx-xxxvii; and echoed in Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni.

19 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxv.

20 Amitai, Al-Nuwayri.

21 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxvii.

22 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxiii.

23 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxiii.

24 cf Juwaynī, *Tasliyat al-Ikhwān*, ed. Mahyār, 60:
دست او را در حل و عقد امور و رتق و فتق مصالح جمهور مطلق گردانید

technically assumed this position under a Mongol overseer, Sughunjaq Noyan, the military commander in charge of Iraq and Fārs. Iraq was in this period an important and relatively prosperous province, with close ties to the central court where his brother, Shams al-Dīn was later appointed as a chief executive (vizier) under Hülegü and later Abaqa. When Abaqa Khan succeeded Hülegü in 1265, he confirmed ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in his position as well.[25]

Together with his brother and other members of the Juwaynī clan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was a patron of arts and scholarship, counting among his protégés many scholars and literary figures such as Saʿdī of Shiraz, Pūr-i Bahā Jāmi, Humām Tabrīzī, Badr al-Dīn Jājaramī, and Jamāl al-Dīn Kāshī.[26] Qazvini narrates an anecdote from Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī that Juwaynī would reward with 1,000 gold dinars any notable scholar who dedicated a book to him. A notable recipient of the generosity of ʿAṭā Malik and the Juwaynī clan was his contemporary scholar and fellow historian, Ibn Bībī, who recorded his debt to them at the end of his chronicle.[27]

Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā remains one of the only two major extant pieces authored by Juwaynī (the other being *Tasliyat al-Ikhwān*).[28] Qazvini identified a third piece, attached to the beginning of one of the manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale de France that he examined, which he holds to be a separate item authored by Juwaynī.[29] More recently, Sajjādī mentions that he has identified some writings by Juwaynī, including correspondence, bound together with a copy of the *Rasāʾil* of Muntajib al-Dīn Juwaynī, in a Persian manuscript in St. Petersburg.[30]

The Composition of Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā

Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā has long been distinguished in Persian historiography for a host of reasons. Most notably, it is the earliest Persian source from within the Mongol Empire, containing firsthand accounts of various events the author witnessed himself, or narrated from sources to which he had exclusive access. *Jahāngushā* is also hailed for ushering in a new style of historiography in the Islamic East, that directly or indirectly influenced many later historians in the Persian tradition, including Rashīd, Waṣṣāf, Mīrkhwānd, and Khwāndamīr, to name a few, and in some sense nearly all later Persian historians.[31] Overall judgments of modern scholarship on Juwaynī and the *Jahāngushā* vary widely. Melville holds that Juwaynī

25 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xxxi. Also see Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 3, ed. Dabīrsiyāqī, 108. For more details on the events of his governorship, see Eqbāl, *Tārīkh-e Mughūl*, 201-203.

26 Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt*, 1209-1213.

27 Lane, Jovayni,ʿAlāʾ-al-Din. On Ibn Bībī, see Duda, Ibn Bībī; Diyānat, Ibn Bībī; and Yazici, Ebn Bībī.

28 Composed ca. 680 AH around the time he was released from the first imprisonment under Abaqa. See Māhyār's introduction to his edition of Juwaynī, *Tasliyat al-Ikhwān*, ed. Māhyār, 3-20; also Sajjādī, Juwaynī, Abu al-Muẓaffar.

29 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xliii.

30 Sajjādī, Juwaynī, Abu al-Muẓaffar.

31 This effect stretched into the Afsharid and even the Qajar period, with such texts as *Jahāngushā-yi Nādirī* by Mīrzā Mahdī Khan Astarābādī and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* by Riḍā Qulī Khan Hidāyat. Many historians of the Ilkhanid period or immediately following Juwaynī acknowledge, directly or indirectly, the influence of Juwaynī and *Jahāngushā*. One exception is Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī. For more on that see Lane, Jovayni, ʿAlāʾ-al-Din.

gives a "rosy and idealized picture" of the harmony among the sons and descendants of Chinggis Khan;[32] Qazvini calls it "the most important, and the most trusted" source on the Mongol campaigns in Iran.[33] Bahār sums up Juwaynī's intentions as dual: "his first motivation is glorifying his patrons, … and a sober criticism of the state of affairs and the underlying factors to the Mongols' victory and dominance".[34]

Jahāngushā has also been of interest as a fine specimen of ornate Persian prose in the Medieval period. It has been the subject of literary and stylistic studies, by scholars such as E.G. Browne and Muḥammad Taqī Bahār who scrutinized its stylistic features and influence. It is helpful to consider the book from both angles, historical and literary, as a better understanding of one aspect also helps with the other. Minorsky made a fine observation that Juwaynī "represents the tradition of writing elaborated in Seljuq chancelleries" that came to maturity in this period and set the standard for all subsequent works of the same genre.[35] In contrast to the later works that are dedicated to a sovereign or at least are prepared with a royal audience in mind, it is not clear who Juwaynī's intended audience is. It is possible that it was partly prepared for the court, or perhaps for fellow administrators, his immediate circle of Persian notables in the Mongol administration, many of whom were, in fact, former officials in the Khwarazmian empire or came from the same background.

It is generally agreed that the composition of *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* took place between 1252 and 1260 CE (more accurately, 650-658 AH). Juwaynī mentions in the text explicitly that he started composing the text in 650 AH, but is unclear when it was concluded. The generally agreed upon "completion" date of 1260[36] would place the date two years after the Fall of Baghdad, which is the last event recorded in the book (according to Qazvini's edition) and one year after he assumed his post as the governor of Baghdad. If we accept the current scholarly judgment on the motivation for Juwaynī to record a history of the Mongol conquests – in particular, his volume 3, which records the conquests of Hülegü Khan – it is unclear why it should conclude at the fall of Baghdad, completely excluding the Syrian campaign, despite its overall success. A closer look at the topics covered in each volume reveals further that the volumes are, to a great extent, independent. It is likely that the project was initiated with a limited scope and grew only over time. Likewise, it is not clear if the scope of each volume or of the entire project was set early on. It is hence appropriate to consider the three volumes as three independent, though interconnected, compositions. The relevant question would then be when the book took its now widely recognized "definitive" form in three volumes, as suggested by both Qazvini's and Boyle's editions. Both historiographical and stylistic observations can provide further clues to the composition and division of the text.

32 Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni.

33 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, iv-vi.

34 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 53.

35 Minorsky, Pūr-e Bahā and his poetry.

36 See, for instance, Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni; Mūsavī, Jahāngushā. More to the point, Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, lxxxi-lxxxv.

There are quite a few summaries and digests of the contents of *Jahāngushā* available, in varying level of details, starting with that of Qazvini himself,[37] as well as that of Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*,[38] and more recently those of Melville (in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), Mūsavī (in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī*), as well as that of Dāneshyār.[39] They can be summarized as follows.

In the first volume, the text starts with a ceremonial, almost formulaic introduction, on the occasion of composition – "*sabab-i taʾlīf*"[40] – and a brief expression on the goal of writing history, the "causes and conditions" (*ʿilal wa-asbāb*) of the Mongol campaign and conquest of Eastern Iran, which follows in detail, peppered with occasional observations on the "consequences" (*āthār*) of the campaigns or overall assessment of it. This includes observations that border on rhetorical, such as the assessment that the defeat of the Muslims at the hand of the Mongols was a "punishment for their sins". Even in chapter headings one can find such summary appraisals.[41]

Although the narrative of volume 1 is locally smooth, at times it rather "jumps" from one topic to the next.[42] One may observe that the transition between segments is abrupt, and the different segments do not necessarily follow a direct chronological order. Furthermore, there are a number of lacunae or errors in his presentation of the information on the Mongols. Mūsavī has identified at least five, ranging from incomplete information on Chinggis Khan's wives and brothers, to confusion about Mongol tribes,[43] and even corrupt transcriptions of personal names, which reflects the limitations of his sources.[44]

There are further clues to the sources Juwaynī used. For instance he mentions in the preamble (*dībācha*) that in his travels to Mongolia for certain things he had "studied" or "looked into" sources (*muṭālaʿa*), and other things he "observed" himself (*muʿāyana*), and the rest he has heard from "trusted sources" (*muʾtabarān wa maqbūlān)* that remain mostly unnamed, though on one occasion he identifies his source as his own grandfather, Shams al-Dīn (senior), on the authority of his father, Bahāʾ al-Dīn.[45] Mūsavī notes that Juwaynī's information

37 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, lxxx-lxxxiii.

38 Browne, *Literary History*, vol. 3, lxi-lxiii.

39 Dāneshyār, Molāḥaẓāt-i dar Bāb-i ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī.

40 His motive is often listed as wanting to "immortalize the glorious actions of the 'lord of the age,' *Pādshāh-e Vaqt*", i.e., Möngke Khan (see, e.g., Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni). I rather disagree with this interpretation, as this expression is all but a commonly used rhetorical device. See, for instance, the *dībācha* of Saʿdī's *Gulastān*. Also, I hold, there is the possibility that the term *pādshāh-e vaqt* refers to Hülegü Khan. (Mūsavī hints at something similar his entry in *DBE* on *Jahāngushā*.)

41 E.g., "evidence of the hidden divine purpose in the rebellion of Chinggis Khan" (*ḥaqīqat-e serr-e elāhī dar khurūj-e Changīz Khān*); see Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 16.

42 Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni, asserts that "it would be helpful if he made it clear what he was doing" and goes on to comment that Juwaynī conjoins and "juxtaposes" unconnected passages and that it could sometimes "create a powerful and occasionally cathartic literary effect".

43 For instance, Juwaynī appears to consider Saqiz and Naiman as two distinct tribes, rather than the Turkish and Mongolian names for the same tribe.

44 For more on this, see Mūsavī, Jahāngushā.

45 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 134.

on Küchlüg is defective.[46] Apart from the oral sources listed above, Juwaynī clearly also utilized written sources in the composition of volume 1. There are clues to some of his written sources, for instance he quotes or otherwise mentions the *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadānī[47] and al-Zamakhsharī's Qur'anic Exegesis, *al-Kashshāf*.[48]

Volume 2 contains an account of the Khwarazmian Empire, especially under the last two sovereigns, wars with the Ghurids and the Qarakhitai, various local dynasties of Central Asia and Iran, and the campaigns of Jalāl al-Dīn against the Mongols as well as the armies of the Abbasid caliph, through his last days. Melville comments that the coverage of Jalāl al-Dīn is rather "heroic" and more in line with the style of the champions of the *Shāhnāma* than a book of history.[49] Again Juwaynī inserts a comment on the causes of the Mongol campaign and the defeat of the Khwarazmian Empire, and puts the blame on various parties, including the senior administration, such as a certain Sharaf al-Dīn Khwārizmī, the Mustawfī, who harbored enmity towards Juwaynī.[50]

Juwaynī's sources for volume 2 appear to be mixed. In the preface of this volume he mentions two written sources he consulted, namely *Mashārib al-Tajārib* of Abulḥasan Bayhaqī (ibn Funduq) and *Jawāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Elsewhere in this volume he mentions further written sources he had studied, consulted if not quoted, paraphrased, or otherwise used as a source, such as *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī and *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*.[51] Elsewhere in the same volume he mentions some of his oral sources: his own cousin, Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, and a teacher of his named Murtaḍā.[52] Mūsavī claims that Juwaynī's narrative of the early Khwarazmians in volume 2 of *Jahāngushā* runs "a close parallel" to that of Ibn Athīr in *al-Kāmil*.

Volume 3 is perhaps the most interesting, and presents a mix.[53] It starts with a new formal introduction (*dībācha*), and includes a short section on Tolui and his wife, the ascension of Möngke Khan and the opposition of Ögedeids, followed by an expansive account of the campaigns of Hülegü Khan in the west (Iran) culminating in the fall of the Ismaili fortresses of the Rūdbār region. In Qazvini's edition, attached to the end of volume 3 there is an appendix (*dhayl*) by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī,[54] though it is not included in Boyle's translation, but instead appears as a separate piece.[55] It is unclear why the *Jahāngushā* project concludes where it does. Scholars have suggested various interpretations, from Juwaynī's "pre-occupation with his new role as the governor of Baghdad, leaving no time for scholarly endeavors" to "the

46 Mūsavī, Jahāngushā.

47 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 8.

48 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 12.

49 Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni.

50 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 282-283.

51 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 122-144.

52 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 79.

53 See Bira, *Mongolian Historical Writing*, 84-93; see also Melville, Jahānngošā.

54 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 3, ed. Qazvini, 280-292; Wickens, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on the Fall of Baghdad; Boyle, Death of the last Abbasid caliph. It is worth noting that the title of the *dhayl* is not *dhayl* "of Ṭūsī", but *dhayl-i Jahāngushā*, "according to Ṭūsī's copy"; see below.

55 Boyle, Death of the last Abbasid caliph. See also Wickens, Nasir Ad-Din Tusi on the fall of Baghdad.

events that followed" being too "painful" for him to include them in his book.[56] Volume 3 also stands out since nearly the entire account is based on Juwaynī's own firsthand observations, although there is some background information filled in, such as the history of the Ismailis, which is based on written accounts. Juwaynī also mentions, for instance, *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidinā* and *Tārīkh-i Jīl wa Daylam* (both without author attribution), which he presumably found in the library of Alamūt. Mūsavī holds there are also parallels with the text of Ibn Athīr in the part on the history of the Fatimids.

Scholars have pointed out issues with the text that suggest its problematic, or at least complicated, nature. Those include parallelism with various texts by different authors, self-referencing, and narrative passages in the text that occasionally end abruptly or seem to contradict other parts of the text.[57] Such concerns were already raised by Qazvini,[58] and later by Boyle, who notes in the introduction to the translation "several indications" that the work was unrevised and unfinished and expresses his uncertainty about whether this is the work's intended final form. He then adds that "it is nevertheless in a reasonably polished form with considerable erudition and sophistication".[59] Melville notes that even though the narrative is "essentially chronological" it includes several internal cross references (three instances being vol. 1, p. 199; vol. 2, p. 45; and vol. 3, p. 61).[60] This had been noted by Boyle, who takes it as an indication of the "unfinished" nature of the project.[61] On the other hand, Melville comments that despite his departure from strict annalistic chronography or even a completely direct line of time, Juwaynī still has a "sense of proper place" for things. He adds that the second volume contains a fair number of "flashbacks" that punctuate the flow of the narrative in a fairly logical manner, and that occasionally there are repetitions in Juwaynī's writing, which he takes to be "a feature of his style".[62] This leaves the judgment open as to whether the apparent "defects" in the text are signs of the unfinished nature of the work (either volume 3 or even the whole book) or if they are simply stylistic choices by the author.

From the clues to his sources offered by Juwaynī himself, and the process of writing his book, it is clear that his composition was spread across many different sittings, in different localities, sometimes while on long-distance travel "when the party would briefly stop to rest".[63] Paired with the observations listed above on the abundant textual issues and substantive lacunae, this raises the distinct possibility that the book, as available to us, never underwent the process of a final edit. I will argue in support of this position and will also scrutinize

56 Lane lists a few such judgments in Jovayni, ʿAlāʾ-al-Din. He adds that "the 'missing piece' was provided by his confidant and fellow Persian scholar".

57 For instance, some information given on Sharaf al-Dīn Khwārizmī (Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 230) is negated elsewhere in the same volume.

58 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, lxxxiv-lxxxv

59 Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, xv-xxxvx.

60 Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni.

61 Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, xxxvi.

62 Melville, Jahānngošā-ye Jovayni.

63 در اسفار بعيد يك ساعتي در فرصت نزول اختلاص ميكند و ان حكايات را سواد مينوسيد

(when I find an hour when the caravan has halted, to scribe an account of the events). Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 118.

the text to evaluate another hypothesis, that the text is of multiple authorship.[64] I will argue that despite its early canonization and widespread utilization, the text of *Jahāngushā* suffers from serious textual difficulties, resulting from a complicated process of composition, which is still poorly understood. Likewise, the canonization of *Jahāngushā*, both in its early reception by Juwaynī's immediate successors (such as Waṣṣāf) and in the modern period based on the texts produced by Qazvini and Boyle, needs to be scrutinized to shed light on the different layers of the text and the circumstances of its production. Narrative analysis paired with other clues from material evidence (manuscript corpus), as well as features of the text as the vehicle (grammatical, lexical, orthographical, and stylistic), can give us a better understanding of the process of composition and canonization of *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*.

Material Evidence I: Manuscripts Consulted by Qazvini

Qazvini based his edition of volumes 1 and 2 on seven manuscripts, all housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris:

Suppl. pers. 205 (manuscript A); Suppl. pers. 1375 (B); Suppl. pers. 1556 (C); Ancien fonds pers. 69 (D); Suppl. pers. 1563 (H); Suppl. pers. 207 (W); and Suppl. pers. 206 (Z). Among these, the most important ones for the purpose of this study are A, B, C, D, and H, and they will be discussed in more detail.

Qazvini chose MS A (Suppl. pers. 205) as his exemplar, since it was the oldest copy known to him, dated 4 Dhulḥajja 689 (8 December 1290), only eight years after Juwaynī had died, and it was a complete manuscript, though without explicit provenance. This is a most curious manuscript, and unique in many ways. The name of the copyist is recorded as Rashīd al-Khwāfī, which suggest an eastern Iranian provenance. The name of the copyist bears a striking resemblance to the name of a distinguished historian of the Timurid period, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh ibn Luṭfullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Hirawī (or al-Khwāfī), or Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū,[65] which suggest the scribe was a grandfather of the famed historian. We also know from Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū's own attestation in *Majmaʿ al-Tawārīkh al-Sulṭāniyya* that one of his main sources for that composition was *Jahāngushā*,[66] which further supports the hypothesis on the identity of the scribe. The manuscript bears the ownership seal of numerous owners between the 14th and 18th centuries CE,[67] with the oldest being from 724 AH and one from 911 AH[68] belonging to the Timurid sultan Ḥusayn Bayqarā.[69]

Qazvini notes that this manuscript includes numerous misspellings, especially of Mongol proper names, and even of Arabic poetry. Other features include a no-dot transcription (which he notes was common in old manuscripts from eastern Iran). Among the observations

64 See Jorati, *Science and Society*.

65 Cf. Āl-e Dāvūd, Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū.

66 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Majmaʿ al-Tawārīkh al-Sulṭāniyya*, ed. Zanjānī, 239-240.

67 Qazvini lists some dated 724, 727, 771, 775, 778, 780, 1113, 1136, and 1162 AH, suggesting it exchanged hands frequently during the 14th century CE, and then again during the 17th century CE; see Introduction, vol. 1, civ-cxi.

68 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, cv-cxi.

69 The exact note reads من کتب فقیر امیر حسین بن بیقرا میرزا

by Qazvini on this manuscript is an orthographical peculiarity having to do with *dhāl-i muʿjama* (i.e., the letter *dāl* transcribed with a dot, identical to the letter *dhāl*, which is a feature of early Khurasani style when the letter *dāl* is preceded by a vowel – e.g., in *Gunbad* and *bāshad* – or by one of the "weak" letters *alif*, *yā* and *wāw* – e.g., in *uftād* or *Qubād*). He notes that the use of *dhāl-i muʿjama* is uncommon for this period. He then states, based on a quotation by the near contemporaneous Shams ibn Qays al-Rāzī,[70] that this excludes an eastern provenance. I argue to the contrary, that the same quotation is proof for eastern provenance, as the expression *dar lafẓ ārand* in the text he quotes from Shams al-Rāzī, which Qazvini has interpreted as referencing the text, should be understood to be referring to pronunciation, not transcription. Other orthographical features recorded by Qazvini – for instance, the transcribing (*ḍabt*) of the common conjunction ﻣﻚ as ﻳﻚ – are likewise features of the eastern (Khurasani) conventions.

MS B is likewise complete (i.e. it contains all three volumes according to Qazvini's edition),[71] and was copied in the early 14th century CE. Qazvini notes "numerous orthographical errors" and that some folios are in a different hand, and that elsewhere pages seem to have been inserted later, presumably to replace the missing parts.

MS C is another early copy, without an exact date but no later than the mid-15th century since it contains the ownership seal of the famed Mamluk-era scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, better known as Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 1450), a contemporary of Timur and author of his biography, *ʿAjāyib al-Maqdūr*.[72] It is bound together with three other titles, all in the hand of the same unidentified copyist. They are Ṭūsī's *dhayl*;[73] Juwaynī's other composition, *Tasliyat al-Ikhwān*; and a short piece titled *Risāla fī Tārīkh Saljūqīya*, which Qazvini identifies as a summary of Rāvandī's *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*. Qazvini observed that this copy contains marginal notes by Ibn ʿArabshāh, 25 of them in all, often simply translating chapter headings from Persian into Arabic, though in one instance he mentions that he will include an account of the Mongols in his "forthcoming" composition on the history of Timur. Since the definitive date of the composition of *ʿAjāyib al-Maqdūr* is held to be 840 AH, it places this copy before 1437 CE. Qazvini has also recorded various orthographical features of this copy. He concludes that the orthographical style is different from that of MS A, which suggests a divergence in time or locality.

MS D likewise contains all three volumes fully, copied by a certain Ḥalawy in Muḥarram 938 AH (August-September 1531). Qazvini notes that the text as it appears in this copy is "majorly divergent" from other copies (*tafāwuthā-yi bisyār dārad*). Yet, he interprets this as the intention of the copyist, who he believes was "summarizing and condensing" the book.[74] He takes frequent misspellings of Arabic, Turkic and Mongolian words as further evidence

70 در زبان اهل غزنین و بلخ و ماوراء النهر ذال معجمه نیست و جمله دالات مهمله در لفظ ارند. Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, lxxxvii-xcii.

71 Cf. Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, cxi-cxii.

72 Cf. Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, cxiii-cxxii.

73 Which Qazvini notes is "missing from most copies" (*az ghālib-i nusakh mafqūd ast*); see his Introduction, vol. 1, cxiii-cxxii.

74 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, cxxiv.

that the copy was prepared "in a rush".[75] He also notes that volume 1 and 2 do not appear separately in this manuscript, but as if they were a single volume; at the end of volume 2, the copyist simply writes "the first volume of *Jahāngushā* is concluded" (*tamām shud mujallad-i avval az jahāngushā-yi juwaynī*).

MS H also contains all three volumes. It is from the early Qajar period, with the copyist named as a certain Jaʿfar Āṣifī. While Qazvini's judgment on the manuscript is that it is "extremely defective and without any real value", he notes that this copy was made from a very early exemplar, and, like in MS D, volumes 1 and 2 appear together as one volume – indeed, the note at the end of this joint volume (containing volumes 1 and 2) reads as "vol. 1 was finished in the month of Rajab 659 AH [June 1261]".[76] Qazvini notes that a large part of volume 3 (after the *Fatḥnāma*) is missing in this manuscript, which he takes as more evidence for the copy being defective and useless.

For the production of volume 3, which happened some 25 years after his edition of the first volume, Qazvini added five more manuscripts, though as he has already compared one of the new manuscripts against two others in the Bodleian, the manuscript pool can be considered as 13 in total.[77] He continued using MS A (Suppl. pers. 205) as his exemplar, changing the text with a variant only when it is "clearly corrupt".[78] Qazvini notes that the "defects" he had previously identified in his original seven manuscripts are even more common in the additional set. For instance, a few of the additional manuscripts are missing the entirety of the section on the Ismailis and others are missing parts of that section (from the end of the *Fatḥnāma*). Furthermore, these omissions are not noted by the copyist since the text simply ends in a prayer, often with the familiar triangular shaped ending, as if the manuscript was finished, indicating that the copyist believed the text to be complete. Puzzled by this, Qazvini suggests that perhaps the "incomplete" copies could be copies of defective originals, where a part was missing but left blank for future completion.[79] He dismisses the helpfulness of most of the newly added manuscripts but does comment specifically on one of them (his MS Hā, Suppl. pers. 2018, which was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France after the completion of the edition of volume 1). MS Hā is a very early copy (copied 2 Rabīʿ I 700, that is, 15 November 1300), and is divided into only two volumes, in the manner of MS D from his original list, with the same definitive ending at the end of volume 2 declaring it volume 1. Qazvini decides that despite this, and despite what he calls "mistakes and considerable lacunae", this particular manuscript should be added to the list and consulted, since it has become clear to him that it is from an entirely different recension than all other manuscripts consulted by him. It also contains a curious note similar to an ownership mark, which appears on a

75 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, cxxiv.

76 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, cxxiv: بعونه تعالي تم مجلد الاول في شهر رجب المرجب سنة ٦٥٩

77 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, x-lii.

78 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xxiv.

79 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, x-lii.

separate page in a different hand inserted between volumes 2 and 3, containing a few lines of poetry in Arabic, Persian and Uyghur, with a note dating it to 724 AH.[80]

One of the new manuscripts Qazvini examined for volume 3 (*nuskha-yi mīm*) is a copy in the hand of Iranian scholar Mojtabā Mīnovī,[81] made from a very early manuscript dated 698 AH from the reign of Ghazan. Qazvini deems it too defective to be useful but notes that at the end of the codex there is a note declaring it was copied from "Juwaynī's (personal) copy" or "Juwaynī's version" (*nuskha-yi ṣāḥib dīwān*).[82] Another curious fact about it is that the three volumes are bound together with a copy of *Tasliyat al-Ikhwān* and the *dhayl* of Ṭūsī, which Qazvini takes as an indication that the *dhayl* was meant to be part of the text of *Jahāngushā* as the codex appears to have bound together all writings by Juwaynī.[83] He notes, however, that Ṭūsī's *dhayl* does only appear in three of the 13 manuscripts he consulted, and where it is not present there is "no indication" that it is missing.[84] He even mentions that the exact same text, complete with the same orthography (*rasm*), and attributed to Ṭūsī appears at the end of the section on al-Mustaʿṣim in a manuscript of *Tārīkh-i Nīkpay*[85] in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Ancien fonds pers. 61, fols. 460v-462v). He decides that such inclusions were "common" and by itself this does not mean that Ṭūsī's *dhayl* is a separate piece, and that it is most likely meant to be part of the *Jahāngushā*.[86] To further drive home his point, he comments that Rashīd's composition *RJT* utilizes other texts in the same manner, and indeed "there are parts of *Jahāngushā* that appear in *RJT* with little or no change".[87] He mentions that he occasionally consulted manuscripts and printed versions of *RJT*, especially Suppl. pers. 1113, whose illustrations he used for the production of his edition, for a better reading of the text of *Jahāngushā* manuscripts, when possible. Furthermore, he comments that what appears to be an Arabic translation of Ṭūsī's *dhayl* "with a slight reduction" appears in the *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* of Bar Hebraeus, which he once again takes as an indication the *dhayl* was meant to be a part of *Jahāngushā*.[88]

In fact, the parallelism between the text of *Jahāngushā* and *RJT* in the sections that fall under volume 3 of *Jahāngushā* provides more clues to the question of authorship, as will be discussed below.

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80 More precisely, to 26 May 1324, in Mardin, by a Central Asian copyist, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Ḥasan ibn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Samarqandī, known as Muḥammad Bakhshī:
كتبه العبد الراجي رحمة ربه.. محمد بن عمر بن حسن بن محمود بن عبدالعزيز السمرقندي المعروف بمحمد بخشي بماردين المحروسة في تاريخ اول جمادي الاخر سنة اربع و عشرين و سبعمايه

81 On Mīnovī and his role in this process, see Omīdsālār, Minovi, Mojtaba.

82 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xxxii.

83 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, x-lii.

84 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xlii.

85 Nīkpay (Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd) apparently lived in the early 8th century, though not much more is known about him; cf. Mūnesī, Tārīkh-i Masʿūd Nīkpay; al-Hādī, Muʾallif-i Tārīkh-i Nīkpay kīst?

86 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xliii.

87 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xliii.

88 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xlv.

Material Evidence II: Iranian Manuscripts

Given the absence of a full study of the manuscript corpus of *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, which is sorely lacking, I utilized the notes prepared by the project FANKHA (*Fihristgān-i Nuskhahā-yi Khaṭṭī-yi Iran*), prepared under the supervision of Muṣṭafā Derāyatī,[89] on the manuscripts of *Jahāngushā* held in Iranian libraries. FANKHA remains the definitive reference source of its genre, as for each entry it also gives references to the same title in earlier lists: *Fihristwāra-yi Dastnawishtahā-yi Iran* (DENA), Āqā Buzurg Ṭihrānī's *al-Dharīʿa*,[90] Monzavī's *Fihristwāra*,[91] and Monzavī's *Fihrist*,[92] as well as printed versions.[93] *Jahāngushā* is listed under the letter *tā* in volume 6 (pp. 617-620). In all, Derāyatī names 44 manuscripts, listed chronologically (when dated). Of these, all are quite recent (from the Qajar period, 1794-1925), with the exception of the first eight manuscripts, which are:

No. 1 Tehran University no. 182F was copied from an exemplar dated 698 AH, with the ownership seal of Amja Husayn Pasha.

No. 2 Tehran University no. 4025/1F was copied from the Mīnovī collection dated 698 AH. The copyist is mentioned as Muḥammadshāh b Ali b Maḥmūd b Shādbakht Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ Iṣfahānī.

No. 3 Tehran Mīnovī 77/1 was copied in the Kūrān district of Isfahan.

No. 4 Tehran Majles no. 16427 was copied in 814 AH.

No. 5 Tehran Mahdavi no. 67/1 contains all three volumes in a single volume, and was copied in 849 AH.

No. 6 Tehran Sepahsālār no. 231 has parts of the *dībācha* missing. The conclusion of volume 1 is followed by eight folios that contain parts of al-Bayhaqī's *Mashārib al-Tajārib* and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Jāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm*, followed by a small portion of volume 3. It was copied in the 11th century AH, and was held by the *waqf* of Muḥammad Taqī Tihrānī.

No. 7 Qum Markaz Iḥyā no. 1805 contains only volumes 1 and 2, and was copied in the 11th century AH.

No. 8 Tehran Bunyād Lughatnāma Dihkhudā no. 108 was copied in 1011 AH. It contains only volumes 1 and 2.

Of the rest of the manuscripts in Derāyatī's list, many are lavishly bound, have leather covers, are in a good nastaliq calligraphy, and often contain ownership seals and mention the name of the copyist (or the patron, in the case of *waqf*). Their provenance varies: Tehran, Qum, Mashad, Isfahan, Hamadan, and so on. The last sentence of the various manuscripts varies widely; there are at least eight different formulae mentioned by Derāyatī. Some copies end

89 Derāyatī (ed.), *Fihristgān-i Nuskhahā-yi Khaṭṭī-yi Irān FANKHA*, 617-620.

90 Āqā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānif al-Shīʿa*.

91 Monzavī, *Fihristwāra*.

92 Monzavī, *Fihrist*.

93 The references for *Jahāngushā* appear in Derāyatī (ed.), *DENA*, vol 2, 696 (which lists 45 manuscripts); Āqā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, vol. 3, 247-248; Monzavī, *Fihristwāra*, vol. 2, 945; Monzavī, *Fihrist*, vol. 6, 4306.

with prayers, while some end randomly at the end of an episode or even in the middle of an episode. Other notable manuscripts in Derāyatī's list include:

No. 9 Mashad Āstān Quds 4222 contains only the second half of volume 3 and ends with a prayer.[94]

No. 11 Qum Markaz Iḥyā no. 2096 ends with the same prayer as MS no. 9.

No. 18 Tehran Melli no. 7 contains the three volumes in a single volume and ends abruptly in the middle of the section on Ismailis.[95]

No. 21 Tehran Melli 2024 includes the same ending as Qazvini's edition (nos. 9-20 do not).

No. 24 Qum Mirʿashī no. 10915 is a lavish, artful copy.

No. 31 Tehran Salṭanatī no. 1729 ends abruptly in the middle of the section on the Ismailis.[96] It has gold decorations, and calligraphy by Maḥmūd b. Ḥāj Muḥammad Khūyī.

No. 32 Tehran Adabiyyāt no. 148/1, which includes Ṭūsī's *dhayl* on the conquest of Baghdad.

No. 33 Tehran Adabiyyāt no. 238/1 contains only volume 3, copied from a manuscript belonging to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī.

No. 35 Tehran Nūrbakhsh no. 520/3 includes an abridgment of *Jahāngushā*.

No. 36 Tehran Majles no. 9311; adjoined to this manuscript is a dictionary of Turkic words used in the volume.

No. 37 Tehran Adabiyyāt no. 249 c. This manuscript was copied by Bhupali Hindi for E.G. Browne, and was collated with London, British Museum, Or. 155.

No. 38 Tehran Adabiyyāt no.141/1 b. This is the aforementioned manuscript copied in the hand of Muḥammad Qazvini from a very early original.

No. 42 Tehran Salṭanatī 755 ends abruptly in the middle of the section on Ismailis.[97]

No. 44 Tehran Majles no. 14189 ends with the events of the year 655 AH, and has considerable lacunae. It bears the ownership seal of Bahman Mīrzā, son of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāyib al-Salṭana.

This massive initiative by Derāyatī shows a relative dearth of early manuscripts of this most important early Ilkhanid source (only five manuscripts copied before the 11th century AH), which by itself is remarkable. Indeed, more than half of all extant manuscripts of *Jahāngushā* in Iranian libraries are from the Qajar period. There is clearly a resurgence of interest in this book in the Qajar period, as attested not just by the number of manuscripts produced, but also by the evidence of its ownership among Qajar notables, such as Bahman Mīrzā. Despite the relatively scant presence of *Jahāngushā* copies in Iran, the issues with volume

94 قطع دابر القوم اللذين ظلموا

95 و تشویش در دل تمامت خلق عالم تا به چه حد کشیده از مخاصمت ایشان شب و روز در مضیق زندان از ترس کارد زنان ایشان تمام شد تاریخ جهانگشای جویني بتاریخ یوم الخمیس في خامس عشرین ذي القعدة الحرام سنه ٥٤٢١

96 It ends with ذکر تتمه احوال رکن الدین و انتهاي کار ایشان

97 It ends with جمال الدین تفرشي که یکي از اکابر عراق بود با جمعي معارضان او.... او را بشنامت قدم موسوم کردند

3 are already clear: Some manuscripts are missing part or all of the section on the Ismailis, without any apparent indication that the scribe considered the original defective. There is a wide divergence in particular on the formulaic ending, as well as on the inclusion or exclusion of Ṭūsī's *dhayl*. And even in the remainder of volume 3, there appears to be considerable variation among the copies, which may suggest that volume 3 is especially problematic.

Textual Evidence I: Orthographical, Lexical, Grammatical, Stylistic Observations

A pioneering and rather unique study of the text of Juwaynī from the standpoint of stylistics, grammar and lexicon was carried out by the early 20th-century scholar Muḥammad Taqī Bahār in his seminal work on Persian prose stylistics, *Sabkshināsi*.[98] It appears in the third volume of his book,[99] immediately followed by a section on Waṣṣāf and one on Ḥasan Niẓāmi's *Tāj al-Maʾāthir*.[100]

Bahār, who was a contemporary of Qazvini, arranges his assessment of *Jahāngushā* into three parts – lexical (part A), syntactic (B), and stylistic (C) – and occasionally combines these with observations on the orthography, as recorded by Qazvini and based on Qazvini's notes on his manuscript base. In the section on *Jahāngushā*, after a brief historical introduction, he lists nine lexical features,[101] which he classifies as "the old Khurasani style of the Munshīs with minor variations and innovative departures", recording a few instances of departure from that style.[102] He goes on to note that some of the lexical departures appear to be "features of the old local dialect of the region of Tarshīz".[103] In part B, he lists seven syntactic features of the text of *Jahāngushā*,[104] noting that even though it is based on the Seljuq chancellery style, occasionally it presents clear departures, such as the use of singular pronoun for plural nouns of non-human living things (*ghayr dhawī al-ʿuqūl*).[105]

The most important part of Bahār's assessment, however, is his observations on stylistic features and oddities of the text. He first notes that Juwaynī's style is marked by what he brands as "excessive" elisions – of subjects in verbal sentences, of pronouns, of verbs that have a parallel earlier in the text (sometimes substantially earlier), occasionally even of verbs that do not have an earlier parallel in the text, and even of references in passing – which Bahār observes is "not a feature of High Seljuq prose," and is "rather sloppy".[106] He identifies several features which he considers "blemishes" or at least clear departures from the norm. He stops short of drawing a conclusion from this, though his observations

98 On this important composition by Bahār, and the history of its composition and prints, cf. Smith, Sabkšenāsī.

99 The section on *Jahāngushā* appears in vol. 3, 51-99.

100 A translation of this text appears in Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, originally published between 1867 and 1877 in London.

101 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 53-60.

102 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 51.

103 Today Kāshmar, near Juwayn.

104 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 60-64.

105 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 63.

106 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 67.

would be consistent with the hypothesis of an "unedited" text, or at any rate of a text that is not "final".[107]

Bahār observes that on a number of occasions the stylistic features of the text resemble Arabic prose,[108] and that the text exhibits various other features of Arabic – for instance, the text includes excessive broken plurals (which can be categorized as a lexical feature) sometimes even of Persian words (e.g. *runūd* from Persian *rand*), or branding Arabic-style infinitives from Persian words (e.g. *taḥarmuz*, from *ḥarāmzāda*). He comments that such features are much more distinctively present in *Jahāngushā* than in other Persian texts of the same period, such as *Tarikh-i Yamīnī* (from Iran proper), *Marzubān Nāma* (from the Caspian coast) or *Tāj al-Maʾāthir* (from the subcontinent). He then adds that "*Jahāngushā* is not a composition which is consistent in style", and lists a number of what he calls "lexical peculiarities", which I hold are features that are consistent with a text that has not been through a final revision and edit.

He further notes that said "peculiarities" are more frequent in volume 2 and especially volume 3, which I argue can be understood as corresponding to different degrees of insufficient editorial process. It is perfectly normal that a scholar in a senior executive or advisory position (such as Juwaynī, who occupied such posts continuously from a rather early age, and even alludes to it in his preamble to volume 1 of *Jahāngushā*) would have delegated substantial portions of a composition to his secretarial staff. The authorial voice and intent is most present in the editing stage, which is the crucial part done by the scholar at the end of the process. The circumstances of early drafts can vary considerably, and in some sense "authorship" is established at the final stage.

Bahār further notes certain "defects" in the composition of *Jahāngushā*, including occasional misquoting (or corruption) of Persian poetry in the text (without attribution). Bahār notices that a line of Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān is misquoted in *Jahāngushā*, and he calls this "clearly bad style, if not the result of scribal error" and adds that "this is the kind of error which is rather rare for a scholar of Juwaynī's stature".[109] He notes though, that there are other instances of such corruptions in the prose of the Mongol period in Iran; for instance, a corrupted version of Waṭwāṭ's famed *dubaytī* with the opening hemistich "*gar khaṣm-i tu ay shāh buwad Rustam-i Gurd*" appears in Mustawfī's *Tarikh-i Guzīda*, in what Bahār deems a "corrupt recording". He then adds that there are so many instances of such "sloppy errors, reminiscent of scribal errors, as if the text was never edited".[110]

Bahār's overall summary of the style of *Jahāngushā* is that the text comes "in *three* distinct [stylistic] registers" (my emphasis). He conjectures that "some of it may simply be a compilation of pieces by other authors available to him" and adds that, "seemingly, the majority of volume 2 and the sections on the Carmatians in volume 3 are in a style that is not similar

107 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 68.
108 Bahār, *Sabkshināsi*, vol. 3, 69.
109 Bahār, Sabkshināsi, vol. 3, 70.
110 Bahār, Sabkshināsi, vol. 3, 70.

to that of ʿAṭā Malik". He then asserts that these three registers mix within the third volume, sometimes in the same chapter.[111]

Since the only critical edition of *Jahāngushā* remains that of Qazvini,[112] which was also the basis for Boyle's translation and hence all subsequent work on *Jahāngushā*, we are at the mercy of evidence from the manuscripts Qazvini consulted. Fortunately, he took copious notes, and even prepared extensive descriptions of the manuscripts he consulted, and this is appended to the preamble to volume 1 (from 1912),[113] with a separate description appended to the preamble to volume 3, which was based on a slightly wider pool of manuscripts.

Qazvini's notes on the text and the manuscripts he used cover a wide range of topics, from a synopsis of the text and the topics covered by Juwaynī and its parallelism with historiographical texts by other authors, to cross-referencing within the text of Juwaynī. Qazvini hints at the uncertainties raised by other scholars around the text of Juwaynī,[114] and mentions a number of omissions and inconsistencies in the text, suggesting that the product is perhaps "unedited".[115] He offers an explanation: this should be expected, since during the campaign Juwaynī simply would have had no time,[116] and as the governor of Baghdad, he would simply be "too busy governing", which is why no event after the fall of Baghdad appears in the book. After all, even the report on the fall of Baghdad, which is crucial to this study, Qazvini mentions in his introduction as being "by Ṭūsī";[117] though later, at the end of volume 3, he simply says it was "from Ṭūsī's copy" (*az rū-yi nuskha-yi*).

Crucially, for the purposes of this study, Qazvini gathered a number of clues to the external circumstances of the composition of the book and the life of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī based on the text, as well as clues to the non-linear composition of the text, some of which have been mentioned before.

For instance, that the book was started after Juwaynī's visit to Qaraqorum in 650 AH when he attended the court of Möngke Khan,[118] and was already in progress by 651 AH, which is when his father Bahāʾ al-Dīn died, as a mention of his father in volume 1 is followed by a prayer wishing him a long life.[119] Yet, towards the end of volume 2, he explicitly says that his

111 Bahār, Sabkshināsi, vol. 3, 71.

112 Though there are other prints of *Jahāngushā*, for instance one by Khalīl Khaṭīb-e Rahbar (Tehran: Mahtāb, 1371 Sh. [1992 CE]) and numerous others, most recently by ʿAbbāsī and Mehrakī (Tehran: Zuwwār, 1385 Sh. [2006-2007 CE]). Most are simply modifications of Qazvini, and do not introduce any new material, even as unedited text.

113 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 3, xcii-xciv.

114 In a lengthy footnote, Qazvini disagrees with Quatremere, who suggested that *Jahāngushā* probably had more volumes, and agreed with the article of Browne, Note on the contents, 27-43.

115 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xciii.

116 Which is why, according to Qazvini, the book was composed "here and there", not in a continuous flow, pointing to Juwaynī's own text (*Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, 118) mentioned earlier:
محرر این کلمات را با انکه طرفه العیني زمان تحصیل میسر نیست جه مکر در اسفار بعید ... ان حکایات را سوادي مینویسد

117 Qazvini, Introduction, vol. 1, xcviii.

118 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 2.

119 لا زالت دوحة الفضل بمكانه ناضرة و عيون المكارم اليه ناظرة... مد الله في عمره مدا و جعل بينه و بين النوائب سدّا

father had passed away.[120] Qazvini further notes that Juwaynī was born in the year 623 AH, and he mentions in volume 1 that he was 27 when he started composing the book,[121] so there are at least two pieces of evidence that he started composing the *Jahāngushā* between 650 and 651 AH. Qazvini then concludes that, since the last date mentioned in the book is 658 AH, the book was finished in 1260 CE.[122] On the other hand, Möngke Khan is mentioned in the preamble to both volumes 1 and 3, in terms that suggest he was alive. This is the clearest indication that the process of composing the book, despite its more or less chronological progression, was not itself progressive.

Textual Evidence II: Narrative Inconsistencies

In the process of examining manuscript evidence from the Iranian manuscripts listed above, as well as the 13 manuscripts Qazvini consulted, we have already observed problems with the narrative structure, some of which have already been pointed out by Qazvini, Boyle and Bahār. However, their objections do not appear to exhaust all the problems of textual inconsistencies and complications of *Jahāngushā*. To better understand and utilize the textual issues with *Jahāngushā*, it is helpful to also briefly revisit the textual issues with Rashīd's text, *RJT*. On this work, the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, and its complicated and fascinating history and numerous textual puzzles and complications we refer the reader to the many studies on this topic in the literature, most recently the excellent work of Kamola.

To illustrate the issues at hand with *Jahāngushā*, the following provides a comparison and brief analysis of five excerpts from *Jahāngushā* and *RJT*, all of which contain reports of the fall of Alamūt to Hülegü Khan. As will become clear, it is somewhat misleading to associate any of the pieces definitively with either composition in its presumed final form. However, in order to label them for the purpose of this analysis, the five snippets are chosen from the manuscript corpus of *Jahāngushā* and *RJT* as follows:

I *Dhikr-i Ḥarakat-i Hūlākū bi Bilād-i Gharbī* (*Jahāngushā*), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. pers. 205, fols. 146r-149v.
II *Nuskha-yi Fatḥnāma-yi Alamūt* (*Jahāngushā*), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. pers. 205, fols. 150r-154r.
III *Dhikr-i Salṭanat-i Ruknuddīn Khūrshāh* (*Jahāngushā*), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. pers. 205, fols. 169v-174v.
IV *Dhikr-i Ayyām-i Dawlat-i Khūrshāh* (*RJT*), partial ed. Dāneshpazhūh and Zanjānī, pp. 114-142.
V *Dāstān-i Hūlākū Khān* (*RJT*), partial ed. Alizade, vol. 3, pp. 20-56.

120 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 101.

121 Juwaynī, Jahāngushā, vol. 2, ed. Qazvini, 6: و تلفت سبع الي عشرين من – حججي و كف العقل من غلوايي

122 The passage to which Qazvini is referring appears in the first volume: Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 75:
تا جنانك غايت وقت كه شهور سنه ثمان و خمسين و ستمايه است عمارت و رونق ان بقاع ... با قرار اصلي رفته

Texts I-III are from the same manuscript, the exemplar of Qazvini's edition of *Jahāngushā* published in the third volume of his edition. Texts IV and V are from two different editions of *RJT*, by Alizade and by Dāneshpazhūh and Zanjānī, respectively, based on distinct, mutually exclusive sets of manuscripts. While Dāneshpazhūh and Zanjānī relied on manuscripts in Iranian libraries, as well as some in Istanbul,[123] the Soviet scholar Alizade based his edition primarily on two manuscripts in St. Petersburg (of Central Asian provenance) as well as one in Tashkent. All five texts examined present an account of the fall of the fortress of Alamūt to the armies of Hülegü Khan.

Text IV, even though it is labeled as *RJT*, is nearly identical with a section of *Jahāngushā*, corresponding to text III on the list. This is, by itself, no surprise. It has long been acknowledged that the text of *RJT* collects and "borrows" from various earlier compositions in certain sections. The secretarial and scribal process would involve several steps – abridgments, expansions, paraphrases and total revisions – before the text was finally used in a new composition. Thus the textual corpus goes through a multi-stage process, whereby multiple "final" products may be produced. These "final" products, together with other texts which were perhaps from earlier stages of the project, not necessarily the final form for any specific production, could each initiate a separate chain of transmission, given the right circumstances, to create a corpus of interrelated texts, various overlapping or interdependent members of which may be held to be just as definitive or authentic as others. This appears to be the case for certain sections of *RJT*, at least, including the section on the Ismailis. I hold that a similar verdict also passes for *Jahāngushā*.

To illustrate the parallelism raised above, in its most basic form, consider, for instance, the following three passages from volume 3 of *Jahāngushā* and the corresponding section from *RJT*.

Passage A: The reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan

Text III:

علاء الدين محمد در سن نه سالگی بود كه بجای او بنشست و جلال الدين در منتصف رمضان سنة ثمان و عشرة و ستّمائة وفات كرد و همين يك پسر بيش نداشت علاء الدين كه ذكر رفت جلال الدين را مرض موت اسهال بوده است

"ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad was nine years old when he succeeded Jalāl al-Dīn, who passed on the fifteenth of Ramaḍān of 628 AH. He [Jalāl al-Dīn] had only this one son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, mentioned above. As for Jalāl al-Dīn, the cause of his death was dysentery."

Text IV:

علاء الدين بايام نه سالگی به جای پدر بنشست و جلال الدين همين يك پسر علاء الدين بيشتر نداشت و جلال الدين را مرض موت اسهال بوده است

"ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was about nine years old when he succeeded his father Jalāl al-Dīn, who had only this one son. Jalāl al-Dīn died of dysentery."

123 In particular, three from the Topkapı Saray Library in Istanbul.

Passage B: On Rukn al-Dīn Khārshāh's succession

Text III:

رکن الدین خورشاه پسر مهین علاء الدین بود و در هنگام طفولیت او علاء الدین هنوز در سن شباب بود چه در زاد میان ایشان هژده سال بیش تفاوت نبود رکن الدین هنوز طفل بود که علاء الدین نا اندیشیده گفتی که امام خواهد بود و ولی عهد منست چون رکن الدین بزرگتر شد مخاذیل متابعان ایشان میان او و پدر در تعظیم و مرتبة فرقی نمی نهادند و حکم او چون حکم پدرش نافذ بود

"Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh was the eldest son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, so when he was a child ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was still in his youth, since they were separated only by eighteen years, Rukn al-Dīn was only a baby when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had decreed, without giving it much thought, that Rukn al-Dīn would be his successor. When Rukn al-Dīn grew to adulthood, the wretched folks who follow them [i.e., the Ismaili imams] would offer the same obedience and respect to father and son alike, and would execute his commands just like they would for his father."

Text IV:

و بایام طفولیت رکن الدین علاء الدین گفتی که او ولی عهد منست و امام شما خواهد بود چون رکن الدین بزرگتر شد متابعان ایشان میان او و پدر در مرتبه و تعظیم فرقی نمی نهادند و حکم او چون حکم پدرش نافذ بود

"When Rukn al-Dīn was a child, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn would say 'he will be my successor and your imam'. When Rukn al-Dīn grew older, their followers would honor and rank father and son exactly the same, and Rukn al-Dīn's commands were followed like those of his father."

Passage C: On Ḥasan-i Māzandarānī (ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's assassin)

Text III:

منفرد شدند که حسن مازندرانی که اخص الخواص علاء الدین بود و ملازم لیل و نهار و حقه اسرار او او را کشته است و نیز گفتند که منکوحه حسن که معشوقه علاء الدین بودی ... آن سر با رکن الدین باز گفت بر جمله بعد از یکهفته حسن را بکشتند و جثه او بسوختند و طفلی دو سه از آن حسن دو دختر و پسری ایشان را هم بسوختند حسن مازندرانی را در وقت کودکی لشکر مغول از مازندران برده بودند و در عراق از میان لشکر گریخته بوده است و بملك علاء الدین رفته امردی ملیح بوده است علاء الدین چون او را بدیده دوست داشته است و بخود نزدیك گردانیده پیش او محل اعتماد تمام شده.....و مع هذا از جنون و بدخویی پیوسته بتخیلات و تعلیلات او را رنجانیدی و می زدی ضربهای عنیف دندانهای او بیشتر شکسته بود و از آلت ذکوریت او پاره ای بریده....و علاء الدین در مقاربت و مباشرت با زن حسن از او تحاشی نکردی

"They all agreed that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was killed by Ḥasan-i Māzandarānī, who was the closest person to him, and his confidant, accompanying him day and night. They also said Ḥasan's wife was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's romantic partner ... (missing text). This secret was communicated to Rukn al-Dīn, and one week later Ḥasan was killed, and his body set on fire, alongside two or three babies of Ḥasan's. This Ḥasan-i Māzandarānī was taken captive by the Mongols when he was a child in Māzandarān, but he had escaped them when they were in Iraq[-i ʿAjam] and took refuge in the territory of [the Ismaili imam] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. Ḥasan was a cute beardless boy, and when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn met Ḥasan, he liked him and made him his confidant. Despite that, since ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was afflicted with madness and had horrible conduct, he would constantly torture Ḥasan and he would give him terrible physical beatings, [to the point that] many of Ḥasan's teeth were broken from those beatings, and part of his penis was cut off. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn would conduct erotic liaisons with Ḥasan's wife or have sex with her and would not hide it from Ḥasan at all."

Text IV:

معلوم کردند که حسن مازندرانی که اخص الخواص علاء الدین بود و ملازم لیل و نهار و حقه اسرار او او را بکشته است و هرچند آن کار بامر رکن الدین بود بعد از یك هفته حسن مذکور را بکشتند و جثه او را بسوختند و پسری و دو دختر طفل او را نیز بسوختند

"They declared it was Ḥasan-i Māzandarānī, who was the closest person to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and his companion, who had killed him, although [everybody knew that] he was following Rukn al-Dīn's orders. After a week the said Ḥasan was killed and his body set on fire. Two or three children of his, still babies, were also set on fire with him."

This demonstrates that text IV could simply be an abridgment of text III, perhaps notes taken by a scribe. Generally, text IV repeats, with minor changes or even verbatim, the text of III. Occasionally, text IV paraphrases text III in simpler language, usually omitting some details.

Text V, on the other hand (corresponding to the Alizade edition), is more detailed. It includes additional information on the circumstances of the campaign, and often runs a close parallel to text I, which is the most expansive narrative in the *Jahāngushā* corpus. For example:

Passage D

Text V:

چون از آب بگذشت بر طرف رودخانه جهت تفرج طوفی می فرمود از میان بیشه شیران پیکارپیشه ظاهر شدند فرمان داد تا سواران بر مدار ایستاده جرگا کشیدند و چون اسبان از شیران می رمیدند بر بختیان مست سوار شدند و ده شیر را شکار کردند روز دیگر از آنجا کوچ کرده در مرغزار شفورقان نزول فرمود

"After crossing the river, they went on a stroll by the river bank. Suddenly several lions appeared to come out of the woods nearby. He [Hülegü] ordered cavaliers to surround the area and hunt the lions. Since the horses were scared of the lions [and made it impossible to ride them] they mounted drunken camels instead and managed to hunt ten lions. The next day they left the area until they arrived at the meadows of Shafūrqān, where they made camp."

Text I:

چون لشکر از آب بگذشت پادشاه بتماشا بر کنار رود طوفی می کرد خود شیران بسیار در آن بیشه بودند فرمود تا لشکر بر مدار بایستادند و ترکه بستند اسبان از هیبت شیران هراس می یافتند بر بختیان مست سوار شدند و ده شیر مرغزار را شیران کارزار شکار کردند ... روز دیگر از آنجا کوچ کردند و بمرغزار شفورقان نزول کردند

While the Persian text of I and V above are very slightly divergent in terms of choice of words, the translation is identical. A discussion of whether the lexical divergence of the two falls outside the scope of our argument.

Elsewhere the parallelism between the texts of *Jahāngushā* and *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* is less pronounced. This raises questions about the authorial process of both texts and their circulation. Clues may be gathered already from the sections showcased above.

So far we have demonstrated that the divergent texts of two separate sections of Qazvini's edition of *Jahāngushā* run parallel to texts from two different editions of *RJT* based on mutually exclusive manuscripts. In each of the two editions of *RJT* consulted for the purpose of this comparison, the report on the Ismailis appears only at one place, unlike in Qazvini's edition of *Jahāngushā*, which contains three reports on this.

There is more evidence of the convoluted textual structure of *Jahāngushā*, and clues to what the cause may be, from the narratives included in it. The first clue is self-referentiality. In Qazvini's edition, the author(s) of *Jahāngushā* refer to the work itself, from within the text of *Jahāngushā*, sometimes in detail. Already in the preamble (*dībācha*) of *Jahāngushā* in volume 1, on the very first page, a definitive start of the project as well as the book itself is mentioned:[124]

سباس و ثنا معبودي را كه واجب الوجودست بسجودي كي وجود او واهب انوار عقل وجود است.. جنين كويد جون در شهور سنه خمسين و ستمايه بخت مطاوعت نمود و سعادت مساعدت كرد... معهذا جون بجند نوبت ديار ماوراالنهر و تركستان تا سرحد ماجين و اقصي جين كه مقر سرير مملكت .. جنكيزخان است و واسطه عقد ملك ايشان مطالعه افتاد و بعضي احوال معاينه رفت و از معتبران و مقبولان قولان وقايع گذشته را استماع افتاد از التزام اشارت دوستان ... مقرر و محقق كشت در قيد كتابت كشيد و مجموعه اين حكايات را بتاريخ جهانكشاي جويني موسوم كردانيد

"In year 750 AH … since on several occasions a visit to the lands of Transoxiana and Turkestan was made possible, as well as to the borders of China and Aksai Chin, which is the seat of the rule of Chinggis Khan. [In those trips] some of their affairs I observed firsthand, and others were narrated to me by those who can be trusted and whose words are widely accepted, I obliged the demands of my companions, to compose … a book, and I made the title of the entirety of those narratives *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā.*" (abbreviated translation)

It is worth noting that the text specifies the title not as *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, but, somewhat redundantly, as *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī*. The bigger issue, though, is the obvious redundancy in the text of *Jahāngushā*, where essentially the same narrative is repeated three times. The three narratives vary, not just in structure and level of details, but also stylistically. They include different levels of ornate embellishments, with *Fatḥnāma* (text II) being the most "stylized", text I being in chancellery style ornate high prose, and text III the most straightforward or least ornate high prose, closest to text V from *RJT*. There are clues from the lexicon. For instance, while text I refers to Hülegü's sons by their name suffixed with *-uġūl*, text III refers to them as *pādshāhzāda* followed by their name.[125] Finally, and most importantly, there are clues from the narratives of texts I to V. Consider the following three instances, from texts I, II and III, all from Qazvini's *Jahāngushā*, all reporting on the fall of the Ismailis:

1. In text I, corresponding to p. 100 in volume 3 of Qazvini's edition, and to fol. 147v of the Paris manuscript, the text reads: "It was so cold that many riding animals perished, and these two lines which I had once written to my father, glory to his dust, when I was at Qaraqorum describe it well".[126] A few lines down on the next page the

124 Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 1, ed. Qazvini, 1. The Persian texts in the body of this article have been recorded in the orthographic rendition of Qazvini's edition.

125 *Pādshāhzāda* should be understood as "prince". It consists of *pādshāh* (king) plus the suffix *zāda* (born to; son of).

126 از شدت برودت چهارپای بسیار تلف شد و دو سه بیت که از اردوی بزرگ از مقام قراقوروم به پدرم طاب ثراه نوشته بود حسب حال شد. Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 3, ed. Qazvini, 100.

text reads: "Amir Arghūn [...] appointed his son Kerai, Aḥmad Bitikchī, and the author of these lines, to accompany the King [Hülegü] to Khurasan and Iraq".[127]

2. In text II, in the preamble to *Fatḥnāma*, the text reads: "The least of the servants of the kingdom, the fortunes of which never cease to rise, ʿAṭā Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī al-Mustawfī, wants to reach to the whole world with the good news [...]".[128] Elsewhere in the *Fatḥnāma*, corresponding to fol. 152r, the text reads: "the bearer of the good news [of Khūrshāh surrendering] was ordered to compose a *yarligh* in a style different from those before, a copy of which is preserved in Juwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī*",[129] repeating, once more, the self-reference, and the redundant designation of the title.

3. In text III, corresponding to fol. 173v, the text reads: "when I was at the foot of the fortress of Lambasar, with the desire to examine its library, whose fame has spread to every corner of the world, I petitioned the king that one may not let the magnificent library of Alamūt perish and be lost. He [Hülegü] was pleased with that speech and appointed me to examine the library. Whatever I found, Qur'anic codices, and exquisite books, I saved, in the manner of *bringing the living out of the dead*,[130] and observational instruments, such as Armillary Spheres, and Thrones, Astrolabes Solipartium, Astrolabes Bipartium, and Radial Astrolabes[131] [I rescued]. As for the rest, whichever was not in accordance with the transmitted sciences [i.e., Traditions, Jurisprudence, etc.], or the intellectual sciences [i.e., Mathematics, Philosophy, etc.], I burned [...]".[132]

There are distinct yet conflicting clues to the authorship in these text extracts from the three different sections. To begin with, the narrative of text I provides us with two clues that the author is Juwaynī himself. First, there is a reference to Juwaynī's father. And second, there is the confirmation that the author was appointed by Arghūn Āqā to accompany Hülegü in

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127 امیر ارغون در این منزل خیمه بزرگ از کرباس منقش به نقشهای لطیف .. بنهاد و خدمات بسیار بتقدیم رسانید و از انجا بحکم فرمان متوجه حضرت منکو قاان شد و پسر خود کرای ملك و احمد بیتکچی و محرر این مقالات را در خدمت پادشاه بتدبیر مصالح ملك خراسان و عراق نصب فرمود

128 کمینه بنده دولت روزافزون عطا ملك ابن محمد الجوینی المستوفی میخواهد که این بشارت بدور و نزدیك اقالیم عالم برساند.

Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 3, ed. Qazvini, 115.

129 مبشر این بشارت را فرمان شد تا بر وفق ملتمس ایشان مکتوب برلیغی که سواد ان با سواد حکایات دیگر که نه لایق این حکایات بود <و> در تاریخ جهانگشای جوینی مسطور است بنوشت.

Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 3, ed. Qazvini, 129.

130 Qur'an, Sūrat al-Rūm, 30:19. Full verse according to Arberry's translation: "He brings forth the living from the dead, and brings forth the dead from the living."

131 Highly technical vocabulary; five different types of observational instruments. Cf. Hartner, Asturlab.

۱۳۲ بوقتی که در پای لمسر بودم بر هوس مطالعه کتابخانه که صیت ان در اقطار شایع بود عرضه داشتم که نفایس کتب الموت را تضییع نتوان کرد پادشاه ان سخن را پسندیده فرمود و اشارت راند تا بمطالعه ان رفتم و انچ یافتم از مصاحف و نفایس کتب بر مثال یخرج الحی من المیت بیرون اوردم و الات رصد از کراسی و ذات الحلق و اسطرلابهای تام و نصفی و شعاع دیگر که موجود بود برگرفتم و باقی انچ تعلق بضلالت و غوایت ایشان داشت و نه بمنقول مستند بود و نه بمعقول معتمد بسوختم.

Juwaynī, *Jahāngushā*, vol. 3, ed. Qazvini, 269-270.

his western campaign, together with two other senior administrators: this list is confirmed by the *RJT*.

In contrast, there is some confusion in the narrative of text II, and it fails to identify the author definitively. First there is a clue that the composer may be either Juwaynī himself or somebody commissioned by him to compose the ornate text, but it is not clear which of these is the case. This ambivalence persists in the second reference in text II, since it refers to *Jahāngushā*, ostensibly from within it, as an existing, separate, composition, while it also alludes to Juwaynī being commissioned to write this very text (the *Fatḥnāma*), raising the possibility that this piece may not have been intended as part of the original composition. It may be observed that the relationship between the *Fatḥnāma* and the rest of the body of *Jahāngushā* is much like that of Ṭūsī's *dhayl* and the body of the text, only with the difference that the *dhayl* is explicitly tagged, unlike this section. While this is usually interpreted as indicating that the *dhayl* was composed by Ṭūsī, which is a distinct possibility, it is also worth noting that the exact wording of the manuscript, as recorded by Qazvini is *Dhayl-i Jahāngushā, az nuskha-yi … Ṭūsī*, roughly translating to "Addendum to *Jahāngushā*, from … Ṭūsī's copy".

Text III is likewise not free of ambiguity. The first-person narrative appears to suggest that the author must be Juwaynī; that is, if we assume that the sole author of the entire text of *Jahāngushā* as available to us in Qazvini's edition is, indeed, Juwaynī. However, two clues from the text suggest otherwise. The first is the author's claim that he examined the Alamūt library to decide which books should be saved and which burned. Various anecdotal accounts mentioned by Arab and Persian historians alike put the number of codices in the tens of thousands. Even if that is held to be an exaggeration, there is no doubt that the number was extraordinary. Given the fact that a single codex could often include numerous titles, and the phenomenon of *Safīnas* that could include tens of titles within one bound volume, the Alamūt library could be estimated as housing more than ten thousand book titles. Furthermore, in pre-modern Arabic and Persian book culture, the absence of book covers containing large text indicating the title and author, would mean that identifying all book titles housed in a library would require a careful, individual examination of each codex, a task which would be much easier for somebody already familiar with the library, not an outsider. Thus it is obvious that Juwaynī would not have been the ideal person to carry out this task, and this must have been just as obvious to those present at the gathering where this decision was made. Aside from the lack of feasibility of an outsider (Juwaynī) performing this task, there is also no clear indication of the motivation behind it. There are no reports of similar events, where libraries were inspected volume by volume, with the purpose of extracting the "good" titles and destroying the rest. It is unclear why it should happen for this particular library. This suggests that the person who examined the library could have been someone other than Juwaynī.

In addition to this, the reference in text III to five types of specialized observational instruments, each mentioned separately, is a distinction that would be lost to anyone other than a scholar specializing in, or at any rate intimately familiar with, astronomy and the art of astronomical observations. However, there is no indication that Juwaynī ever received advanced specialized education in the subjects of the quadrivium or indeed other specialized field of science like alchemy, or that he would be intimately familiar with varieties and distinctions among observational instruments. Indeed he entered government service at a relatively early age, which would have severely limited his chances of receiving advanced education in any topic not closely related to the art of the government. Even a professionally

trained mathematician would typically receive such education at an age beyond the age at which Juwaynī joined the administration. It is likewise unclear why saving observational instruments, highly specific advanced instruments of use only to a professional mathematician, should be a priority, especially as the campaign was still on the march westward (towards Baghdad). There are no reports known of a similar incident of the Mongols saving observational instruments in particular, following a conquest. Even if that was a priority, a more natural choice as the "savior" of the instruments would have been one of the several astronomers in Hülegü Khan's retinue, for instance the most senior astronomer in his camp at the time, a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn Munajjim, or indeed the mathematician already in charge of that very observatory and library, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī.

Unlike text II, where the identity of a second author, potentially commissioned by Juwaynī, remains unknown, a distinct possibility for a second author of text III is worth examining. In the remainder of this paper, I will argue that there is evidence to believe the likely author of parts of volume 3, including the snippet above on the examination of the library and the observatory, is Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who came to develop a close relationship with the Juwaynī clan, particularly ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, an alliance that continued until the end of the former's life.

To be clear, the evidence for mixed or multiple authorship of the version of *Jahāngushā* at hand does not refute its prime association with Juwaynī as *the* author. *Jahāngushā* was a project Juwaynī envisioned,[133] and to have employed scribal assistance or even to commission specific pieces from others or include pieces by others would have been perfectly normal in his time period and circumstances. One such author involved in the process of composition and canonization of *Jahāngushā* has already been identified as the author of the *dhayl*, the mathematician and philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, a contemporary of Juwaynī and, like him, a Persian hailing from a noble lineage in Khurasan. If we agree with Qazvini that Ṭūsī's appendix (*dhayl*) was intended to be included in *Jahāngushā*, even though it is not composed by Juwaynī, there is nothing that precludes other pieces from having a similar origin. As I have argued above, in agreement with earlier scholars, the text of *Jahāngushā* in Qazvini's edition appears to be unfinished, which only raises the likelihood of the inclusion of pieces by other authors. Another piece of corroborating evidence is the special relationship between Juwaynī and Ṭūsī.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī

While Juwaynī was in the service of the Mongols for decades before they met, Ṭūsī was safely stationed with the Ismailis in their Rūdbār fortresses, apparently in a secure and high-ranking position in the entourage of the Ismaili imam ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad III (r. 1221-1255), in charge of an observatory in Alamūt. After the assassination of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the ascension of his son Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh to the throne, Ṭūsī maintained his high position at court. It was in that capacity that he first met Juwaynī and Hülegü Khan during the siege of Maymundiz by the Mongols and the negotiated surrender of the Ismaili imam Rukn al-Dīn. Rashīd confirms that Ṭūsī was a senior member of the negotiating party on behalf of

133 As he mentions explicitly, in the *dībācha* of vol. 1 and again in vol. 3.

the Ismailis, and that he had already joined the Mongol camp prior to the fall of the fortress of Maymundiz, the seat of the Ismaili imam and the first of the Rūdbār fortresses to fall to the Mongols.[134] He writes: "prior to that [i.e., Khūrshāh surrendering], he had sent his other brother Irānshāh, and a son of his named Tirkiyā [or *also* a son of his, named *Kiyā*], in the company of Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn, and Khwāja Aṣīl al-Dīn [Zūzanī], plus a group of [lesser] administrators, and other notables and generals, with countless gifts." He then adds that they were received favorably by Hülegü Khan.[135] Even before the arrival of the Mongols, Ṭūsī was involved in the exchange of letters between the two camps. It would be natural if Juwaynī, as a personal secretary to Hülegü Khan and a senior administrator in his entourage, would be involved at the other end of this interaction, so the two had already corresponded in their respective capacities as senior administrators and secretaries. In any case Ṭūsī and Juwaynī definitely met prior to the surrender of Alamūt, where the library was based, since Alamūt surrendered only after Maymundiz. Apart from numerous affinities between the two, most notably their noble Persian Khurasani origins, there is ample evidence that they forged a close relationship in the entourage of Hülegü Khan and maintained it for decades, even when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn assumed his position as the governor of Baghdad in 1259 and Ṭūsī retired to his senior position in Maragha.[136]

There are numerous indications of this special relationship from a multitude of sources, both Ilkhanid and Mamluk, some of which were recorded by Rażavī[137] and by Jorati. Perhaps most curiously, the anecdote narrated by Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī in his *al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt* speaks in the same breath of this special relationship as well as Ṭūsī's newly found special status with Hülegü Khan as a chief astronomer and trusted adviser. It appears in its totality in the first volume of *al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt*.[138] Al-Ṣafadī writes:

> It was narrated to me that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had fallen into disfavor with Hülegü Khan, in a matter in which he was suspected of wrongdoing, and Hülegü had ordered him killed. His brother [Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī] came to Ṭūsī and pleaded with him if he could have that annulled. Ṭūsī replied: "The Ilkhan, and his people, when they order something done, there is no way to have it canceled, especially if the news of it has already spread." Shams al-Dīn said we must find a trick. So Ṭūsī at once went to Hülegü, while holding in his hand a level staff, an astrolabe and prayer beads, and behind him someone carrying an incense burner making a cloud of smoke, with flames flaring. Hülegü's confidants standing at the entrance to his tent saw him like that. When Ṭūsī arrived at the tent he increased the amount of incense burning, raising the astrolabe, looking into it as if making an observation of the sky, then lowered it. When they saw Ṭūsī do all that, they informed Hülegü Khan of the situation, then returned to Ṭūsī and asked, "What has made you do this?" He answered, "Where is the Ilkhan?" They replied, "He is inside." He said, "Is he in good health?" They

134 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, vol. 3, ed. Alizade, 34-35.

135 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, vol. 3, ed. Alizade, 36-37.

136 For more on this, see Jorati, *Science and Society*.

137 Rażavī, *Aḥwāl wa Āthār Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī*.

138 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt*, vol. 1, ed. Arnāwūṭ, 147-148. A translation may be found in Jorati, *Science and Society*.

> said yes, then Ṭūsī prostrated, praising God, stood up, and asked them again then repeated the prostration, then he said, "I want to see him with my own eyes", so they went inside to Hülegü Khan and informed him of this, even though that was during a time that the Ilkhan would not see anybody. Hülegü Khan ordered that Ṭūsī be brought inside. When Ṭūsī saw Hülegü Khan he fell to prostration, and remained like that for a long time. Hülegü wanted to know what the matter was Ṭūsī replied, "I saw that Fate had decreed that at this hour a terrible calamity shall befall upon the Ilkhan, so I moved quickly and performed that which was necessary with the astrolabe and burned the incense and prayed to God with special prayers that I know, pleading with God to turn that calamity away from the Ilkhan. It is necessary that the Ilkhan should write to all his servants at once and send the *īlchīs* to every country in his kingdom to release from captivity anyone who is arrested and condemned to death, and give them a full pardon, so that God may not let the terrible things happen to him which is in the Fate. And if I had not seen the face of the Ilkhan myself, I would not have believed he is still safe." So Hülegü Khan ordered that everything that Ṭūsī said should happen, and the *ṣāḥib dīwān* (i.e., ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī) was released among a larger group, without Ṭūsī even mentioning his name.

This anecdote is only one among many attestations in the primary sources of the period to a special relationship between the two, not the least of which was their respective positions, both being patrons of the Imami community in Iraq. This community constituted the base of local support for Juwaynī, an outsider who had taken over the administration of Iraq without being able to rely on the traditional Sunni Hanbali aristocracy who were in charge under the last Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim. Equally, Ṭūsī, who was of Imami background himself, had already made visits to Ḥilla during the Mongol campaign on Baghdad and met with senior Imami figures to secure their support for the new Mongol government, and he was instrumental in the peaceful surrender of Kūfa and Ḥilla.[139]

Given this special relationship, whatever its cause may have been – prior affinities, strategic alliance, or natural convergence in the face of common adversaries – and, as argued above, the status of *Jahāngushā* as an essentially unfinished text that took on its "final" form some time after ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had already assumed his new position as the governor of Baghdad, the presence of pieces penned by Ṭūsī or for Ṭūsī in the essentially unfinished collection of texts that came to be seen as the third volume of *Jahāngushā* in a presumed final form would be natural.

Conclusion: Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā *in Baghdad*

Many of the scholars listed above, from Qazvini and Bahār to Minorsky and Boyle, seem to have been aware of or at times even implied the complicated textual structure of the *Jahāngushā*. Furthermore, there is overwhelming evidence from the text itself for pauses in composition and expansion of the project. That evidence includes, as argued above, abrupt section endings and disjointed narratives, chronological confusion, stylistic oddities and textual peculiarities, erroneous or conflicting information, and self-referencing in unusual

139 Cf. Jorati, *Science and Society*, ch. 4.

forms, all suggesting that various parts of the text were added later or never underwent a final editing process. Based on these arguments, it is clear that *Tarikh-i Jahāngushā* is a composition which was never completed in a strict sense. Rather, it assumed a certain form early on, and was canonized in that form by near-contemporaneous historians. It is also clear, based on manuscript evidence, that the various "final" forms in circulation were held as definitive. Evidence for this claim is manifold: (a) manuscript evidence recorded by Qazvini, and Derāyatī, that scribes held a multitude of variations of the text (in particular for volume 3) as the "final" form; and (b) manuscript and textual evidence of confusion about how many volumes the project consisted of. While one may assume that inconsistencies of type (a) may have arisen over time, through scribal errors and faulty manuscripts, type (b), attested by manuscript evidence, is further confirmed by early evidence from other medieval texts that refer to *Jahāngushā*. For instance, Waṣṣāf considers *Jahāngushā* to be in three volumes, while Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī knows it in two volumes, as I have argued elsewhere.[140]

Since the last date mentioned in the text of *Jahāngushā* is already after the appointment of Juwaynī as the governor of Baghdad, it follows that any manuscript of *Jahāngushā* which can be considered to be complete belongs to a recension that originated in Baghdad. It would be a matter of great curiosity and consequence to any discussion on Juwaynī and Ilkhanid historiography to draw a full picture of the manuscript base of *Jahāngushā* in order to be able to attempt to answer questions about its distribution and canonization, as the manuscript base of *Jahāngushā* consulted for this article is somewhat meager on early copies.

Parallel to that, the confusion around whether the text of Ṭūsī on the fall of Baghdad should be held as an integral part of *Jahāngushā* or not, paired with the argument that makes a case for multiple authorship of parts of volume 3, with parts potentially written by Ṭūsī or for Ṭūsī, leaves unclear the exact role of Ṭūsī in the composition, circulation, and canonization of *Jahāngushā*. There is evidence of a sustained close relationship and strategic alliance between Ṭūsī and Juwaynī, which also involved a clear Baghdadi connection. Ṭūsī was a senior Ilkhanid administrator in Maragha, as well as a patron and ally of the Imami community of Iraq, who were the base of support of Juwaynī in Baghdad. It is in this dual capacity as an ally of Juwaynī and patron of the Imamis of Iraq that Ṭūsī made two visits to Baghdad, in the 1260s and 1270s – indeed, at a relatively advanced age – during the second of which he died and was buried in al-Kāẓamayn. *Jahāngushā* may be understood as a text in flux, one that morphed into an assumed final form which may or may not have been envisioned by the author, and which evolved into a corpus of largely consistent yet divergent texts in which the roles of various parties remain to be fully understood. This topic deserves a serious study dedicated exclusively to it.

Acknowledgments

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140 Cf. Jorati, *Science and Society*.

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Abbreviations

DBE *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī*. (The Great Islamic Encyclopaedia), online edition (Tehran, 1996-). Available at https://cgie.org.ir.

EI *Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition Online* (Leiden). Available at https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/db/eieo.

EIr *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London, 1982-); online edition (New York, 1996-). Available at https://iranicaonline.org.

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The Buildings of Medieval Baghdad and the Impact of the Mongol Conquest in 1258

Andrew Petersen*

While the historical accounts of the immediate aftermath of the sacking of Baghdad in 1258 CE indicate that some buildings survived or were restored, the overwhelming impression is of a city in ruins. Recently, however, the cataclysmic interpretation of the Mongol conquest has been questioned both in terms of the physical destruction and its effects on cultural life. This prompts questions of how the urban infrastructure was restored and to what extent the city was remodelled to reflect the new political and religious reality. Although the exact extent of the destruction is not clear, modern authors agree that the sacking of Baghdad reduced its status from that of a metropolitan capital to a provincial city. There is, however, some evidence that the city continued to be of considerable cultural importance; for example, many of the library collections survived the conquest. However, within the new political structure, the city was separated from its Arabic cultural network and instead incorporated within a predominantly Persian environment. This paper will assess if and how this transition is reflected in the built environment. In the absence of direct archaeological evidence, this paper uses alternative sources such as historical records and surviving medieval buildings to reconstruct evidence for the destruction but also the preservation of architectural structures, such as the caliph's palace.

Keywords: sacking of Baghdad 1258 CE, archaeology, architectural evidence, urban infrastructure

Introduction

The sacking of Baghdad by the Mongols is one of the defining events of the medieval world and marked an end to the reign of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.

The capture of the city is described by several authors who give varying accounts of the numbers of people killed. For example the author of *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, a local chronicle written in Arabic, states that 800,000 people were killed after the Mongols had taken the city.[1] The slaughter is described in some detail: "The dead lay in mounds in the streets and

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1 Gilli-Elewy, Contemporary account, 368.

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the markets. Rain fell on them, horses trampled down upon them, their faces were disfigured, and they became an example to anyone who saw them."[2]

A more conservative account of the conquest is given by the Chinese author Ch'ang Te writing in 1259 CE, whose account was probably based on Mongol witnesses or participants in the siege. He wrote that after the battle several tens of thousands were killed.[3]

In addition to a depiction of the fighting, this Chinese account also contains a brief description of Baghdad, which concurs with other descriptions of the city prior to the conquest. The city comprised two parts, an eastern part and a western part, separated by the Tigris. The western half of the city was un-walled, whilst the eastern part of the city was contained within magnificent walls made of large bricks. It seems that the inhabitants left the western portion of the city prior to the Mongol attack, so that the siege and subsequent killing of civilians was restricted to the walled city on the east bank of the Tigris.[4] While it is not possible to know the true numbers of people killed, it is clear that a significant proportion of the city's inhabitants lost their lives and that many of the buildings were burnt to the ground or otherwise destroyed. However, there is some historical evidence that important buildings were preserved; for example, the caliph's palace seems to have survived, as the keys were handed over to the new governor.[5] A number of authors including Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and Ibn al-Ibrī also concur that the new rulers ordered the immediate renovation and restoration of important buildings in the city.[6] For example, the supervisor of religious endowments (*awqāf*) ordered the rebuilding of the Mosque of the Caliphs (Jāmiʿ al-Khulafāʾ) which had burnt down during the conflict.[7] Also, several of the madrasas and ribats were restored by the supervisor of religious endowments.

At this point it is worth pointing out that the city was in a state of decline even before the Mongol invasion. There are, for example, records of serious floods which destroyed houses during the years 1253, 1255 and 1256. The 1256 flood was particularly devastating as it submerged most of the city on both the western and eastern sides of the Tigris.[8] The anonymous author of a local chronicle of events notes that in the years preceding the Mongol invasion, the annual hajj to Mecca was cancelled, possibly indicating the weakness of the caliph and perhaps deteriorating economic circumstances.[9]

While the historical accounts of the immediate aftermath of the conflict indicate that some buildings in Baghdad survived or were restored, the overwhelming impression is of a city in ruins.[10] Recently, however, the cataclysmic interpretation of the Mongol conquest has

2 Gilli-Elewy, Contemporary account, 367.
3 Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 138-139.
4 Gilli-Elewy, Contemporary account , 364.
5 Gilli-Elewy, Contemporary account, 369.
6 Duri, Baghdād, 17.
7 Gilli-Elewy, Contemporary account, 369.
8 Duri, Baghdād, 17.
9 Gilli-Elewy, Contemporary account, 359.
10 Duri, Baghdād, 18; Biran, Mongol rule, 285.

been questioned, in terms of both the physical destruction and its effects on cultural life.[11] This prompts questions of how the urban infrastructure was restored and to what extent the city was remodelled to reflect the new political and religious reality. Although the exact extent of the destruction is not clear, modern authors agree that the sacking of Baghdad reduced its status from that of a metropolitan capital to a provincial city. There is, however, some evidence that the city continued to be of considerable cultural importance; for example, many of the library collections survived the conquest.[12] However, within the new political structure, the city was separated from its Arabic cultural network and instead incorporated within a predominantly Persian environment.[13] This paper will assess if and how this transition is reflected in the built environment.

Sources for Reconstructing Medieval Baghdad

In order to assess the changes to the city after the Mongol conquest it is necessary to understand the architecture and urban plan of the city in the late Abbasid period. Three forms of evidence will be used: the surviving monuments, medieval Islamic and early Ottoman manuscript illustrations, and later Ottoman and European maps and plans. These forms of evidence have been used in preference to textual sources because they provide the visual and spatial material which is not present in the texts, especially detailed evidence about the appearance of the city or particular buildings.

Although much of the historic core of the city has been destroyed today, there are still a number of buildings which can be identified and help to reconstruct the layout of the medieval city. Important surviving pre-Mongol structures within the city include parts of the city wall (Bāb al-Wasṭānī); mosques such as Jāmiʿ al-Qumriyya, built in 1228; at least two madrasas (Qaṣr al-Abbāsī and the Mustanṣiriyya); and the *muqarnas*-domed tombs of ʿUmar Suhrawardī (d. 1231 or 1234) and Zumurrud Khātūn (d. 1203). The earliest surviving post-conquest structure in Baghdad is the Suq al-Ghazl minaret (rebuilt in 1270), although the most important Mongol-era building is Khān Marjān (1358) and the associated Marjāniyya madrasa (1357). In addition to the buildings which are still standing, there are also fifteen medieval buildings that survived into the early 20th century before being destroyed for a variety of reasons, including urban renewal and lack of maintenance. Nine of the demolished buildings belong to the period before the Mongol conquest, while six post-dated that event.[14]

A number of contemporary manuscript illustrations depict the architecture of Baghdad, including most famously the paintings of al-Harīrī's (d. 1182) *Maqāmāt*, which depicts khans, houses, mosques and tombs. The most famous version of the text is by Yaḥya ibn Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 5847), who completed the work in 1237, two decades before the Mongol siege of Baghdad. Although little is known about al-Wāsiṭī's life, he seems to have lived in Baghdad during the early 13th century and his

11 See, for example, Biran, Mongol rule; De Nicola, Cultural activity.

12 Biran, Libraries, books, and transmission of knowledge, 471.

13 Biran, Mongol rule, 285; Zaryāb, Baghdad.

14 Fethi, *Urban Conservation*, 125-183.

paintings are a rare depiction of domestic architecture before the Mongol conquest.[15] A number of Ilkhanid and Jalayirid manuscripts also contain illustrations which depict the architecture of Baghdad, as do some early Ottoman illustrations. The first post-1258 illustration of Baghdad is a double-page painting in a manuscript copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (painted in Tabriz, ca. 1305).[16] The miniature depicts the Mongol conquest of Baghdad from the right (west) bank of the Tigris, and although highly stylised, it clearly depicts elements of the architecture of Baghdad, including arch forms, brickwork and wooden balconies.

In addition to miniature illustrations and monuments, there are a number of maps and plans from the Ottoman period and later, which give information about vanished buildings, streets and districts. In some cases, there is an overlap between maps and miniature illustrations. For example, an early 17th-century miniature from 1638 in a manuscript written by Kara Çelalbizade Efendi (1581-1657) provides a bird's-eye view of Baghdad from the southwest, and this supplies topographic information about the city (fig. 1). For example, the entire circuit of the walls is shown, as well as the location of the citadel and the position of the main gate next to the bridge of boats. However, the details of the buildings show a resemblance to the architecture of Ottoman Constantinople (Istanbul), with what appear to be stone walls with lead-covered roofs. It seems likely that the miniature is based on sketches or maps made in Baghdad which were then painted by a miniaturist in the Ottoman capital.



Fig. 1: 17th-century depiction of Baghdad (1638) miniature in a manuscript written by Kara Çelalbizade Efendi (1581-1657).

15 For a discussion, see al-Ani, *Représentation architecturale*.

16 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Diez A, fol. 70, pp. 4 (right) and 7 (left); also reproduced in al-Awadi *et al.*, *Baghdad Eye's Delight*, 82.

A 17th-century Ottoman map of similar date also contains a bird's-eye depiction of Baghdad, this time from the east. Whilst the depiction of the buildings of the city are similar to the miniature painting, it is more sketchy. It is perhaps significant that a central part of the city is shown with very few buildings, whilst the citadel and the southeast corner of the city are heavily developed. Although the relationship with rivers, roads and other topographic features appears to be more accurate it is interesting that a large mosque to the north of the citadel, accessed by an arched bridge, is not shown in the 17th-century map.

The first detailed topographic map of the city which has survived was made by Carsten Niebuhr in 1765 and published in 1778 (fig. 2). In addition to producing maps of the region, Niebuhr also made 28 plans of cities, which are valuable both because of their accuracy and because in many cases they are the earliest detailed depictions.[17] The map of Baghdad shows the first detailed plan of the city streets and building blocks, as well as the location of a few key monuments. It also shows the street pattern within the un-walled portion of the city on the right (west) bank.

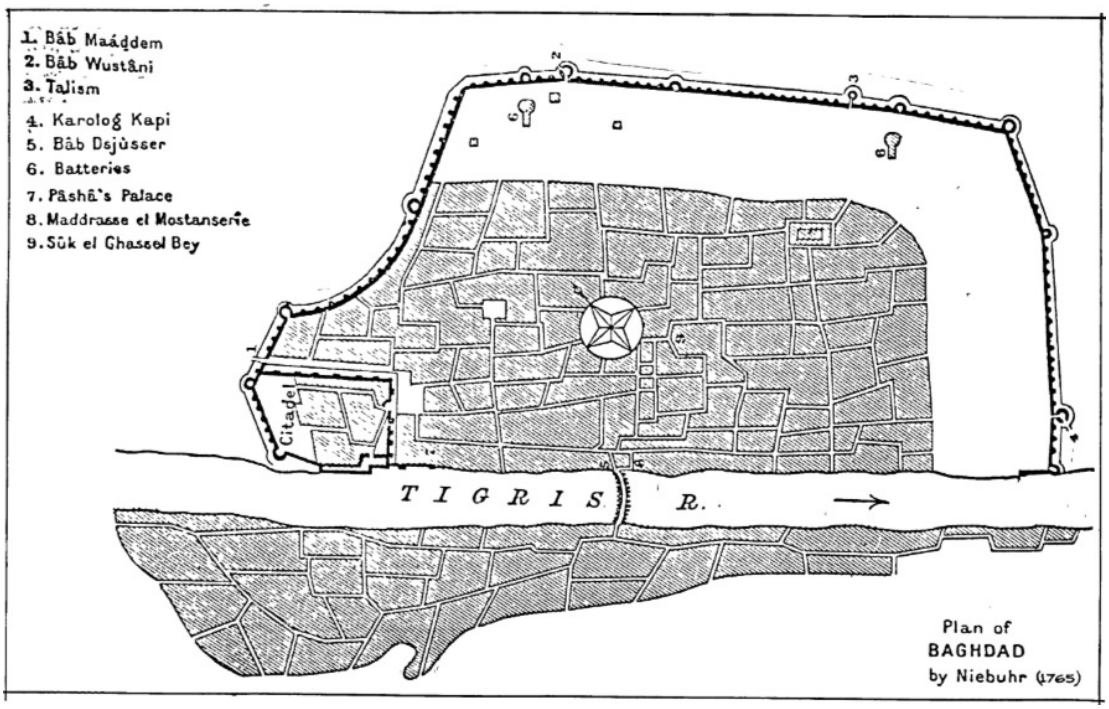

Fig. 2: Map of Baghdad by Carsten Niebuhr, Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern.

Nearly a hundred years later, between 1853 and 1854, Captain Felix Jones of the British Royal Navy made the first scaled map with the exact position of buildings and the correct alignments of streets, alleyways and walls (fig. 3).

17 For a discussion of the cartography of Carsten Niebuhr, see Hopkins, Maps of Carsten Niebuhr.

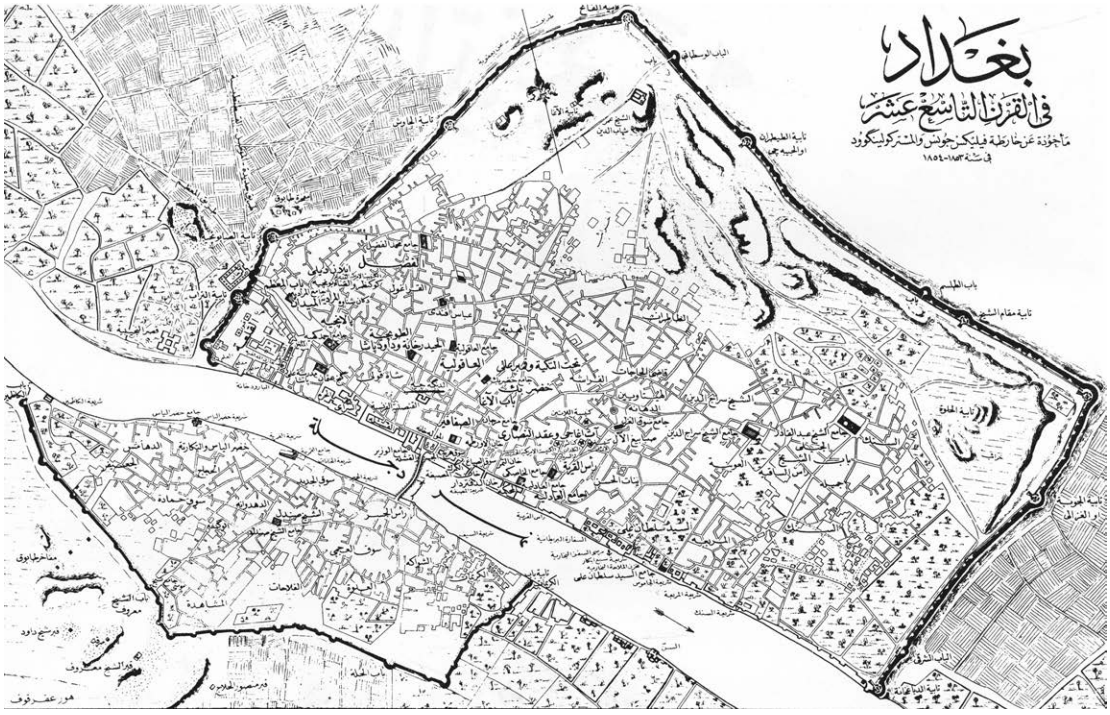

Fig. 3: Map of Baghdad by Captain Felix Jones, from 1854.

In more recent times, during the late 20th and early 21st centuries, there have been a number of studies of the historic architecture and urban fabric of Baghdad.[18] These studies are based on archive sources together with observation and mapping and provide an invaluable insight into the remains of the historic city. However, the focus in these studies is on conservation of the historic environment, and they include all historic buildings up to the end of the Ottoman period. For the first time this study will focus on the medieval period, and will distinguish between the pre- and post-Mongol building of the city.

Using these different forms of evidence, it is possible to gain some insight into the layout and appearance of the medieval city. The discussion here will focus on the walled city on the left (east) bank of the Tigris, although throughout the medieval period there continued parts of the city on the right (west) bank continued to be inhabited.

Buildings from before the Mongol Conquest

City Walls

The most notable feature in early depictions of Baghdad are the city walls, which not only determine the shape of the medieval city but are also one of the few features which we can trace back before the Mongol conquest of 1258. The construction of the wall began in 1095 during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaẓhir (r. 1094-1118) and was completed during the

18 See, for example, al-Ashab, *Urban Geography*; Fethi, *Urban Conservation*; al-Saffar, Urban heritage.

reign of his successor, al-Mustarshed (1118-1135). Unfortunately, the walls were destroyed in 1872 on the orders of Midhat Pasha, who wanted room to expand the area of the city and also to re-use the bricks in new construction activities. However, there are a number of medieval descriptions of the wall; the most useful of these is that by Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim traveller from al-Andalus, who visited the city in 1185.[19]

The construction was a communal enterprise which at least in part was funded by the citizens of Baghdad, who both collected money and participated in its construction. The walls described a semicircle around the city with a length of 6.2 kilometres; there were four main gates, and according to some accounts, 163 towers. The main gates were Bāb al-Muaẓam (built 1094-1118, destroyed 1925), Bāb al-Wasṭānī (built 1180-1235), Bāb Ṭalsim (built 1221; destroyed 1917) and Bāb al-Sharqi (built 1221 destroyed 1937); in addition, there were two small gates.[20] Today the only remaining city gate is the Bāb al-Wasṭānī (Middle Gate), which has been preserved as a monument (fig. 4). As mentioned, the walls themselves were dismantled in 1872 during the time of Midhat Pasha to allow the city to grow outside its medieval core and also to make use of the bricks for new developments (fig. 5). However, archaeological excavations during the 1970s revealed a section of the original wall on the riverfront adjacent to the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa.[21] Until the 1970s there was also a small portion of the city walls (6 metres long and 4.5 metres high), with crenellations and loopholes, which had survived within the area of the citadel.[22]

Bridges

There were no fixed bridges in Baghdad until the mid-20th century, with river crossings either by ferry or on pontoon bridges. The number of bridges joining the right (west) and left (east) banks of the Tigris in Baghdad fluctuated over time. At the time of the Mongol conquest, there was only one bridge connecting the western suburb with the main city on the eastern bank. However, according to historical accounts, the Mongols constructed a second bridge as part of their conquest of the city. Certainly, the image of the city presented in the early 14th-century painting in the Rashīd al-Dīn manuscript shows the city connected by two pontoon bridges.[23]

Houses

Unfortunately, there are no surviving examples of medieval houses from Baghdad, neither from the period before 1258 nor from afterwards.[24] The subject has been discussed in some detail by Ihsan Fethi, who stated that "[f]requent floods, fires, wars and other disasters, have resulted in the total destruction of all medieval houses in Baghdad".[25] He argues this was because private houses were less likely to have been maintained to the same standards as

19 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, trans. Broadhurst, 229.

20 Al-Janabi, *Medieval Architecture*, 13-14.

21 Fethi, *Urban Conservation*, vol. 2, 141.

22 Al-Ashab, *Urban Geography*, 157-158, Fig. 5.10e.

23 Petersen, Ancient and medieval bridges.

24 Warren and Fethi, *Traditional Houses*, 26-38

25 Fethi, *Urban Conservation*, 357.



Fig. 4: Bāb al-Wasṭānī (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

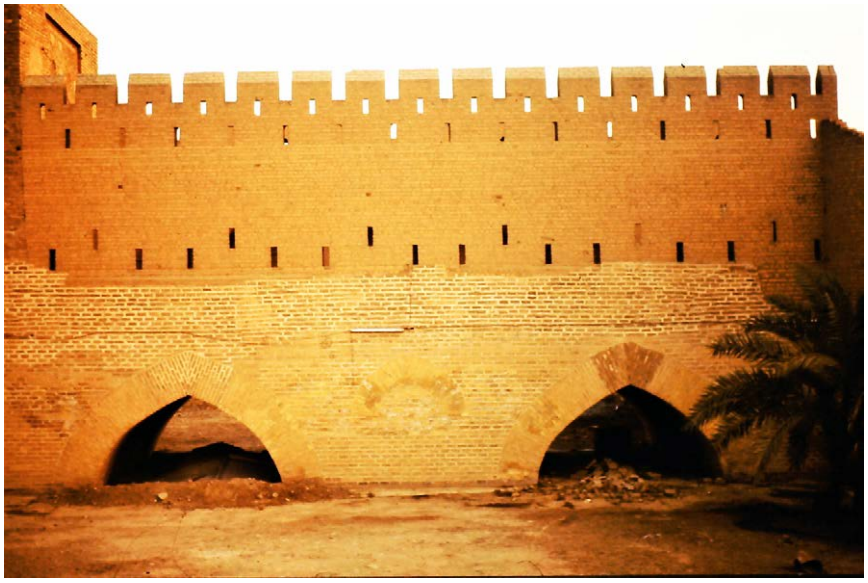

Fig. 5: Reconstructed stretch of city wall adjacent to Bāb al-Wasṭānī (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

public buildings like mosques and madrasas. He also points out that private houses were more likely to have been built of mud brick and wood, which meant that they were more vulnerable to floods and fires. Additionally, it has been pointed out that wood-eating termites were a constant presence in pre-modern Iraq, destroying wooden components of buildings.[26] The illustrations of al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt* by al-Wāsiṭī provide some idea of medieval houses in Baghdad including the internal courtyards, the roof ventilation and internal balconies. Although no medieval houses have been archaeologically investigated in Baghdad, excavations in the town of Harba near Samarra have revealed plans of 12th- and 11th-century domestic architecture. The houses at Harba ranged from simple buildings with three rooms to complex structures with nine rooms incorporating shops opening onto the street. In all cases the houses had internal courtyards, and in many cases the entrance was via a short corridor.[27] However, the houses in Harba seem to have had only one floor whereas the houses in Baghdad probably had at least two storeys, based on the al-Wāsiṭī paintings.

Mosques

Within the medieval walled city the most important mosque was the Jāmiʿ al-Khulafāʾ built in the 10th century by the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtafi (902-908 CE). Although there is still a mosque of this name on the site, the original building from the 10th century was destroyed in a fire during the Mongol conquest in 1257-1258. When Carsten Niebuhr saw the building in March 1766, he observed the minaret and the front wall of the mosque with two entrance portals, one of which was used as a coffee shop.[28] Above one of the entrances there was an inscription recording its construction by al-Muntasir in 1235 CE (633 AH). The remains as seen by Niebuhr were destroyed soon after, when a new mosque was built by Sulayman Pasha between 1780 and 1802. The Ottoman mosque was in turn destroyed in 1957 and replaced by the present structure in the 1960s. The only medieval part of the building to have survived is the minaret, which was built in 1272 by ʿAṭā Malik al-Juwaynī, the Mongol ruler of Baghdad (see below, Architecture of the Mongol Period in Baghdad).

The first Seljuk mosque to be constructed in the city was the Jāmiʿ al-Sultān, built on the site of the old Mukharrim mosque between 1091 and 1129. The mosque was located north of the city wall next to the sultan's palace.[29] Although the mosque has not survived to the present day, it may be the building depicted on the left-hand side of the citadel just outside the city walls in the 1638 illustration of Baghdad by Kara Çelalbizade Efendi (fig. 1).

Several other medieval mosques survive in Rusafa within the environs of medieval Baghdad, and we also have information on a number of other mosques which survived into the early 20th century. For example, the Uthman Askari funerary mosque, which was built in the 9th or 11th century, has been preserved to the present day, although little of the original structure seems to have survived.[30] One of the more famous surviving mosques is the

26 Warren and Fethi, *Traditional Houses*, 21 and 31.

27 Al-Ani, *Représentation architecturale*, 218-225.

28 Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, vol. 2, 156-160.

29 Duri, Baghdād, 14.

30 Fethi, *Urban Conservation*, vol. 2, 55.

Khafafin masjid, which dates to the early 13th century, and although the prayer hall has been restored several times, the minaret is generally accepted as the oldest that survives in Baghdad.[31] Several mosques built before 1258 were destroyed in the 20th century, including the Abariqi mosque, built in the 12th century (destroyed in 1962).

Madrasas

According to Ibn Jubayr, who visited in 1185, there were over thirty madrasas in Baghdad and more were built after his visit. The most famous madrasa was the Niẓāmiyya, which was founded in 1065 and rebuilt in 1110. Although the madrasa was damaged during the Mongol conquest, it was rebuilt soon afterwards, and by the early 14th century there were at least five functioning madrasas in the city. However, only two of the pre-Mongol medieval madrasas have survived: the Madrasa al-Sharabiyya, also known as the Abbasid palace, built in 1226; and the Mustanṣiriyya madrasa, completed in 1234 (fig. 6).

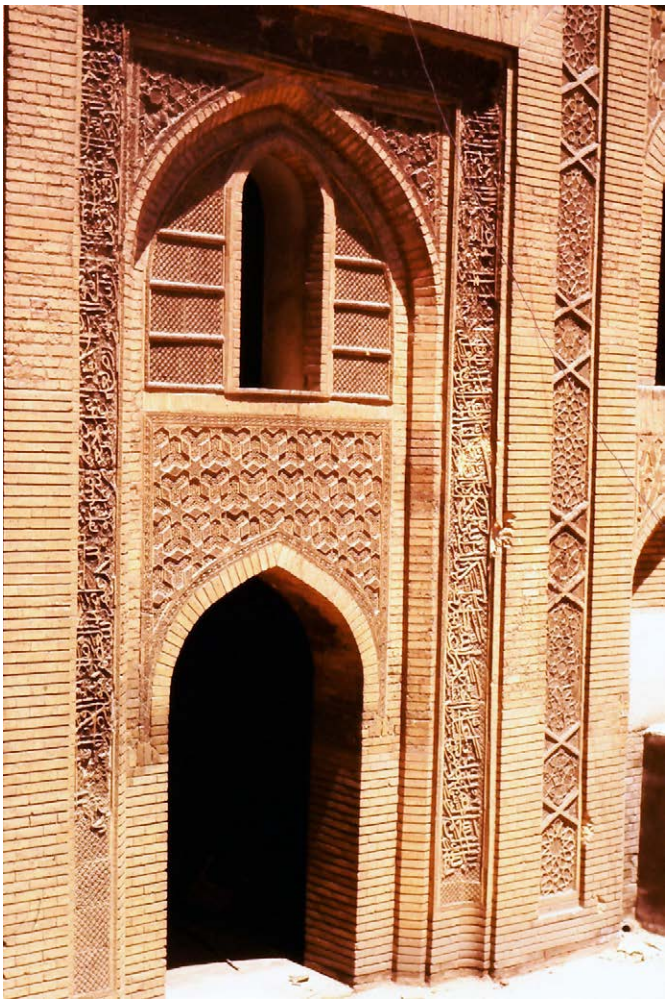

Fig. 6: Mustanṣiriyya madrasa (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

31 Fethi, *Urban Conservation*, vol. 2, 88.

Tombs

Shaykhs' tombs are one of the most notable features of the medieval urban landscape in Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East.[32] In many cases tombs were incorporated into mosques, and in other cases prayer halls were attached to tombs, so they are sometimes difficult to categorise. One of the most distinctive forms is the *muqarnas*-domed tomb, the earliest example of which is Imam Dur located to the north of Samarra, which is dated to the late 11th century. Within Baghdad, the most famous example is the Zumurrud Khātūn tomb (also known as Sitt Zubeida), located in a large cemetery in west Baghdad (figs. 7 and 8). This structure, which was built between 1189 and 1202, has an octagonal base and nine tiers of *muqarnas* vaults culminating in a small dome.[33] This is one of the few medieval monuments to have survived in west Baghdad, which was frequently subjected to devastating floods. In eastern Baghdad near Bāb al-Wasṭānī there is a second *muqarnas*-domed tomb over the grave of Shaykh ʿUmar Suhrawardī, who died in 1234. Although only two of these buildings are still standing, 16th-century Ottoman miniatures indicate that there were originally many more *muqarnas*-domed tombs in Baghdad.[34]



Fig. 7: Zumurrud Khātūn tomb, west Baghdad (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

32 Petersen, *Bones of Contention*, 7-9.

33 Tabbaa, Muqarnas dome, 66.

34 Tabbaa, Muqarnas dome, 65, plates 4 and 5.



Fig. 8: Detail of dome, Zumurrud Khātūn tomb, west Baghdad (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

Khans

Although there are many khans and markets within the area of historic Baghdad, the majority of these were built or rebuilt during the 19th century. There are, however, a few older commercial structures; for example, part of the medieval Suq al-Ghazl has survived adjacent to the Suq al-Ghazl minaret and Khān Marjān, which will be discussed below.

Effects of the Mongol Conquest on the Urban Structure of Baghdad

From the above review of the buildings of medieval Baghdad it can be seen that the city was already severely damaged by political strife, social unrest and economic hardship before the Mongol conquest. As early as 1241, the Abbasid caliphs had started to send an annual tribute to the Mongol ruler and had already lost much of their former territory to the invaders.[35]

35 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, 2.

Social unrest took the form of fighting between different quarters of the city, especially in 1242, when conflict around the Niẓāmiyya madrasa resulted in the looting of shops and many deaths.[36] There are many accounts of a declining currency, high food prices and an inability to pay soldiers. An indication of the dire economic situation immediately before the conquest in 1248 is the fact that there was only one bridge connecting east and west Baghdad. In earlier times, between the 8th and 11th centuries, the number of bridges fluctuated between five and three. Soon after the conquest the number of bridges was increased to two, which remained the case into the 14th century.

However, as indicated above, most accounts of the siege and final capitulation of the city give an impression of a massacre on a massive scale exacerbated by the concentration of citizens from other parts of Iraq also fleeing the Mongols. Whilst the loss of life was undoubtedly unprecedented, the destruction of buildings and infrastructure is more difficult to assess. This is partly because the burning or demolition of particular buildings is only mentioned in a few cases. Even if a particular building survived the Mongol conquest, it may have been destroyed later during one of the man-made or natural crises which engulfed the city. A recent assessment of the effects of the Mongol invasions on cities in Central Asia suggests that the deterioration of buildings was caused by depopulation rather than demolition by the Mongol conquerors.[37] A review of archaeological work in eastern Turkey and the Southern Caucasus also observed that there was "great potential for dismantling the presumption [....] that social life in rural areas contracted or stagnated during the Ilkhanid period".[38] The historical evidence from Baghdad indicates that some of the buildings were deliberately destroyed whilst other parts of the city were consumed by fires. However, it is noticeable that the Mongols took care to repair some of the more important buildings, and it is also evident that some major buildings survived the conquest, such as the Mustanṣiriyya and the Abbasid palace also known as the Madrasa al-Sharabiyya. Perhaps more significant is the fact that the walls retained their pre-conquest form and survived until the 19th century. The one possible indicator of the devastation of the conquest is the large empty area within the walls on the land (eastern) side that can be seen both in the 17th-century depiction of Baghdad by Kara Çelalbizade Efendi (fig. 1) and the Carsten Niebuhr map made in 1765 (fig. 2). In the map produced by Felix Jones in the mid-19th century, a number of mounds are located inside the eastern walls of the city, and significantly they are marked as ruins (fig. 3). The area was redeveloped during the 20th century, although it seems likely that archaeological excavations in the vicinity would produce evidence of the Mongol siege and conquest.

36 Duri, Baghdād, 17.

37 Campbell, Mongol conquests, 13-14.

38 Franklin *et al.*, Medieval village, 124.

Architecture of the Mongol Period in Baghdad (Ilkhanid and Jalayirid Periods)

The architecture of the Mongol period in Baghdad was a direct continuation of the building style prevalent in the previous Seljuk and later Abbasid periods. Fired brick was the preferred material for the construction of religious monuments and public buildings, although it is probable that houses and less important commercial buildings may have been built from a combination of fired brick, mud brick and wood. The fired bricks were generally square, with dimensions varying from 15 to 26 cm per side and a thickness from 5 to 7.5 cm. An analysis of the brick sizes used in Iraq from the 11th to 14th centuries indicates that there is no correlation between brick size and the date of construction of monuments, and that the variation in brick dimensions was due to the requirements of a particular building.[39] However, it is noticeable that a greater variety of brick sizes and shapes were used later, including moulded bricks made specifically for decorative facades.

City Walls

Although it is probable that the city walls were breached during the Mongol conquest in 1258, later depictions of the city indicate that the entire circuit of walls was in place during the later medieval Ottoman periods. Al-Ashab suggests that in addition to their function of deterring attacks from enemy forces, the walls in combination with the moat were designed to protect the city from flooding.[40]

Mosques

As mentioned above, it is clear that the Mongols began to restore Baghdad immediately after the conquest.[41] Although at this time the Mongol rulers did not follow Islam, they still took care to restore damaged mosques; thus in 1279, for example, the still extant Suq al-Ghazl minaret (also known as the minaret of the Caliphs' Mosque) was built to replace the structure destroyed during the conquest (figs. 9 and 10). We also know of several mosques built after 1258 which have since disappeared: for example, the Numani mosque, built between 1329 and 1381, which was destroyed in 1936; and the Sayyid Sultan Ali mosque, built in 1383 and demolished in 1934.

Madrasas

Soon after taking over the city, the Ilkhanids built a number of major madrasas in the city including Madrasat al-Ismatiyya (built in 1279), Madrasa Bāb al-Azzj (built in 1289), Madrasat al-ʿAlāʾiyya (completed in 1293), Madrasa Ghāzāniyya and Madrasat al-Imāmiyya al-Bakriyya.[42] The most well-known Mongol-era madrasa, the Marjāniyya, survived until the middle of the 20th century (fig. 11). It was built in 1357 by the Jalayirid governor of Baghdad, Amīn al-Dīn Mirjān, and comprised a school with accommodation for thirty students, a mosque and the tomb of the founder. According to the *waqf* (endowment) document, the madrasa and a now-vanished hospital were to be supported by the income of seven khans also built

39 Al-Janabi, *Medieval Architecture*, 364-365.

40 Al-Ashab, *Urban Geography*, 157.

41 Biran, Mongol rule, 290.

42 Al-Janabi, *Medieval Architecture*, 37-38.



Fig. 9: Jāmiʿ al-Khulafāʾ and the Suq al-Ghazl minaret (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

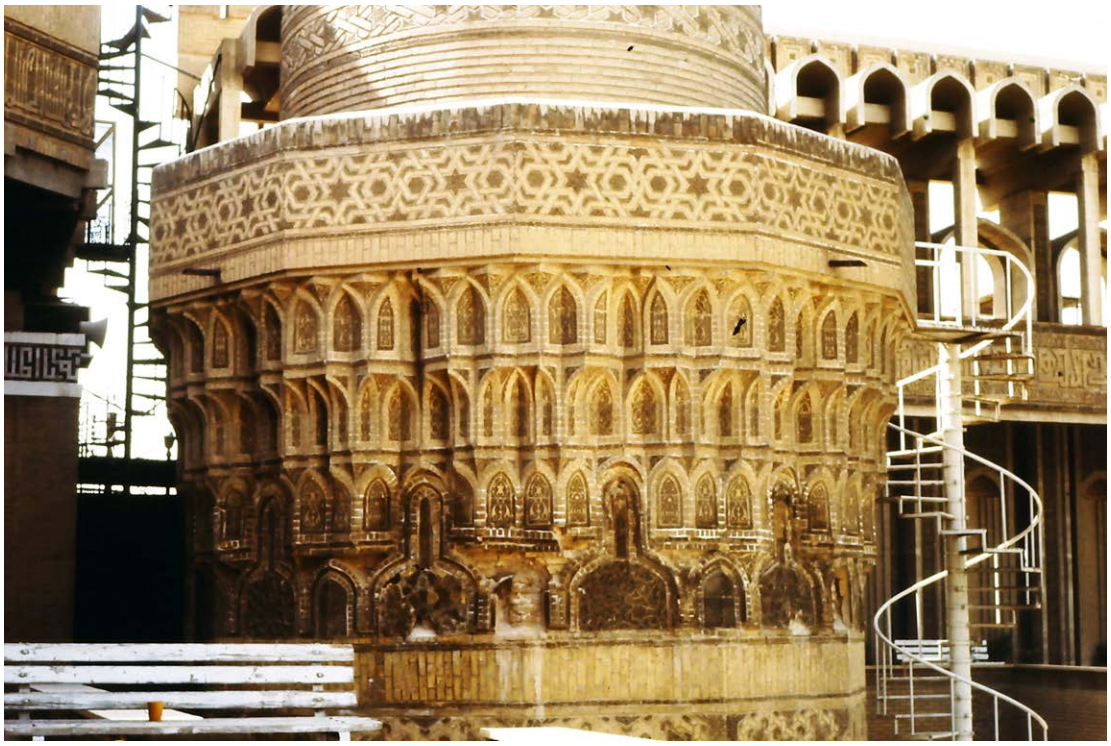

Fig. 10: Detail of Suq al-Ghazl minaret, Jāmiʿ al-Khulafāʾ (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

by the founder.[43] Unfortunately, much of the madrasa was demolished in 1945 as part of a street-widening programme. However, the portal and the adjacent mosque have survived to the present day, whilst part of the madrasa has recently been reconstructed in a specially built pavilion in the Iraq Museum.[44] The madrasa is a good example of the innovative design and decorative style that was characteristic of later Mongol (Jalayirid) architecture. In terms of shape, the nearly square building was adapted to the constrictions of the site by a chamfered external corner at the north which nevertheless left the interior courtyard as a perfect quadrangle (21 × 20 metres). In terms of decoration, one of the innovations of this building was the use of spiral mouldings (barley cone), as seen on the facade of both the mosque and the entrance to the madrasa. The use of vertical fluting on the exterior drum of the mausoleum of the founder is also a characteristic feature of architecture from this period.



Fig. 11: Entrance to Marjāniyya madrasa (photo A. Petersen, 1988).

43 Al-Janabi, *Medieval Architecture*, 230-246.

44 Parapetti, The lost Mirjaniyah madrasa.

Tombs

Although many of the religious buildings constructed in Baghdad during the period of Mongol rule incorporated the tombs of their founder, very few of these have survived in their original form. A rare example of an ironwork grill for an unknown tomb from Mongol-era Baghdad is currently part of the collection of the Museum for Islamic Art in Doha (fig. 12). An inscription in the tomb of Shaykh ʿUmar Suhrawardī built around 1234 (see above) provides rare epigraphic evidence for the reconstruction of a building following the Mongol conquest. The inscription, dated 1334, states that the building was renewed – presumably because it had either fallen into ruin or had been damaged.[45]

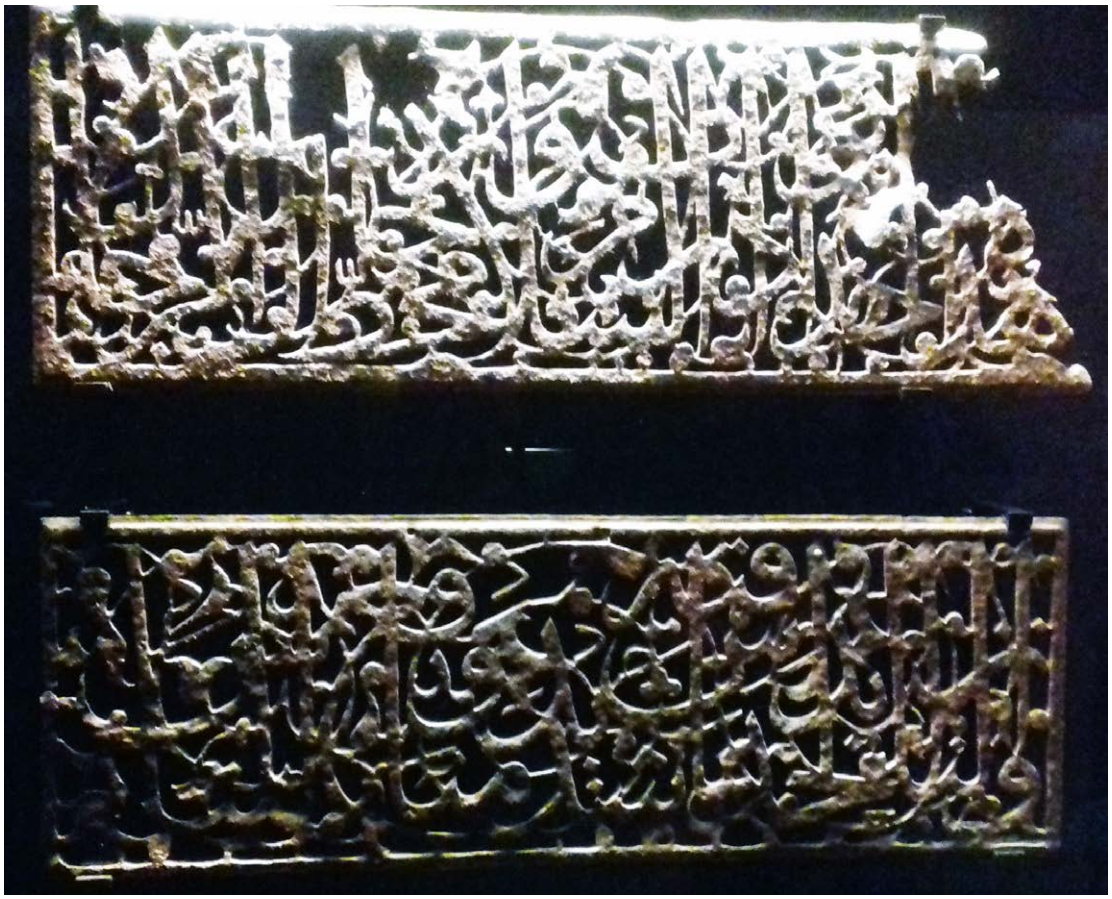

Fig. 12: Ironwork from a Mongol-era tomb in Baghdad (photo A. Petersen, 2022).

45 Al-Janabi, *Medieval Architecture*, 107-109.

Khans

Although very few secular buildings have been preserved from this period, Khān Marjān, one of the seven caravanserais built to support the Marjāniyya madrasa, has survived into the 21st century. This is probably the most famous surviving building from Mongol-era Baghdad (figs. 13 and 14). The identity of the building is confirmed by an inscription above the now-blocked main entrance. This text is made up of nine lines and states that this is one of several buildings built to support the Marjāniyya mosque and the hospital known as the Dār al-Shifāʿ (fig. 15).[46] It is perhaps relevant that, in addition to the khans, a paper shop provided income to the Marjāniyya *waqf*. The building is unique in Islamic architecture. It has two floors, with galleries opening onto a central courtyard covered by a magnificent vaulted roof, which reaches a height of 14 metres. The vaulting system comprises a series of arched ribs bridged by two tiers of vaults, with windows to provide ventilation and light. The exact function of the building is a matter of debate, although it seems likely that it provided accommodation and storage spaces for merchants with expensive goods, possibly silks and other precious fabrics (similar to the Turkish *bedestan*).



Fig. 13: Khān Marjān, southeast (rear) facade, now the main entrance (photo A. Petersen, 2021).

46 Al-Janabi, *Medieval Architecture*, 233-236.

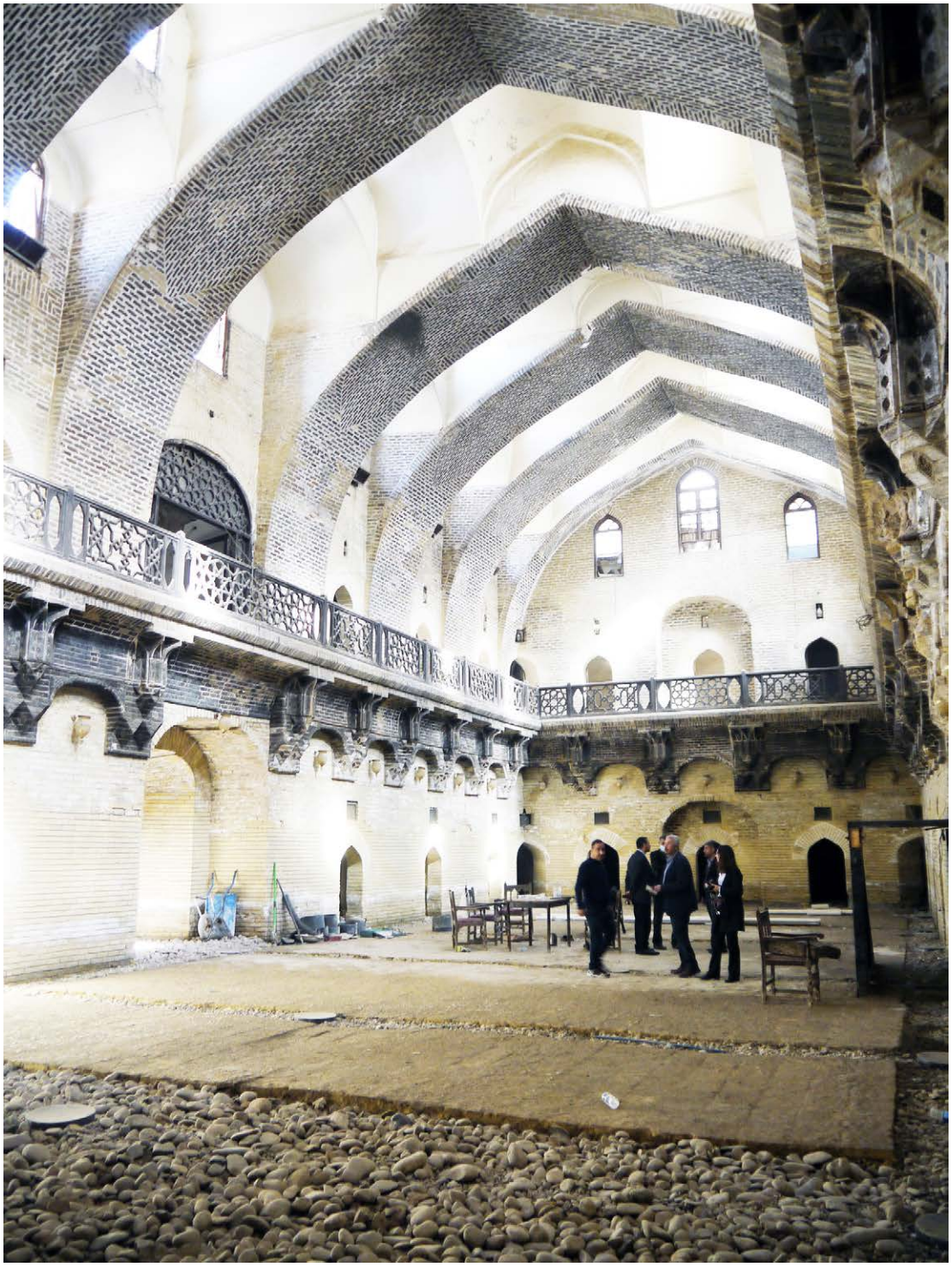

Fig. 14: Khān Marjān, exterior, in 2021 (photo A. Petersen, 2021).



Fig. 15: Khān Marjān, northeast side, inscription above main entrance (photo A. Petersen, 2021).

Bookshops and Paper Production

Given our limited knowledge of the topography of medieval Baghdad, it is difficult to locate where book production and libraries were located. However, we do have a few clues. For example, the famous al-Mutanabbī street seems to have existed in the same location from the 13th century.[47] Its location near the river is probably significant, as water was needed both to power the mills and also as an essential ingredient for making paper pulp. We know that paper was being made in Baghdad from the 8th century, possibly using floating water powered mills moored in the Tigris river.[48] Floating mills had the advantage that they could adapt to the extreme seasonal variations in water level in the Tigris and could also be moored in locations where the water flow was at its strongest. Once the pulp had been produced it was made into sheets in factories which were probably located close by the river, as was the case in Fustat.[49] Bookshops were also probably located close to the factories and the mills moored in the river.

Conclusion

In the absence of direct archaeological evidence for the siege of 1258, it is difficult to assess the direct impact of the Mongol conquest on the physical infrastructure of Baghdad. The most compelling evidence for the destruction is the continued absence of structures adjacent to the landward walls up until the 19th centuries. However, elsewhere in the city there appears to have been considerable continuity. Both the historical sources and the survival of many medieval buildings in the old city up until the mid-20th century suggests that the city recovered fairly rapidly after the conquest. The quality of the surviving architecture seen in buildings such as the Mustanṣiriyya, the so-called Abbasid palace and Khān Marjān also indicates a city of considerable economic and cultural significance.

47 Sekulova, al-Mutanabbi Street, 178.

48 Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 27.

49 Shatzmiller, Adoption of paper, 483.

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Reading Ptolemy's *Almagest* in the Ilkhanate

Remarks on Marginalia in Books I and II of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*

Nadine Löhr*

This paper examines a set of marginal annotations encountered in Ilkhanid manuscripts of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*. This recension of Claudius Ptolemy's prominent astronomical compendium, the *Almagest*, was composed while al-Ṭūsī resided at the Ismāʿīlī citadel of Alamūt and later studied at the Marāgha observatory under Mongol patronage; over time, it became the principal medium through which the *Almagest* was studied in the eastern Islamicate world, effectively replacing the uncommented base text. Today, the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* survives in more than 170 Arabic manuscripts, as well as in Persian and Sanskrit translations, and through a rich body of summaries and super-commentaries. In this paper I wish to offer some observations on the kind and purpose of marginal annotations that were already present in copies of the *Taḥrīr* during al-Ṭūsī's lifetime. I focus this analysis on the marginalia to Books I and II as they are transmitted through Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rabīʿ al-Zarkashī, the scribe of the multiple-text manuscript Tehran, Sipahsālār, 4727, a copy finished on 21 Rajab 671 (11 February 1273). A transcription of these annotations, along with comparative references indicating their presence or absence in other manuscripts, is provided in the appendix.

Keywords: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, Ptolemy's Almagest, marginalia, Ilkhanid Persia, manuscript culture, knowledge transmission, astral sciences, textual reception, Arabic scientific tradition*

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In the mid-13th century, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) composed a recension of Claudius Ptolemy's prominent compendium on astronomy, the *Almagest*, which he entitled *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*. According to the preface, he undertook this work for himself and for fellow seekers of knowledge (*sāʾir ṭullāb al-ʿilm*), having found that none of the many available abridgments (*mukhtaṣarāt*) fully met the necessary criteria.[1] His aim was to produce a concise and accessible version that would simplify difficult passages, resolve problematic points (*ḥall al-ashkāl*), and incorporate innovations introduced by the moderns (*al-muḥdathūn*) as well as ideas adopted by later astronomers (*al-mutaʾakhkhirūn*). For his textual base, al-Ṭūsī primarily relied on the Arabic translation of the *Almagest* by Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn, as revised by Thābit b. Qurra, while also occasionally referencing the version of al-Ḥajjāj and the version attributed solely to Thābit.[2]

Today, al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* is extant in more than 170 manuscripts produced between the 13th and 20th centuries.[3] These copies are attested across various regions, with some colophons mentioning cities, including Marāgha[4], Isfahan[5], Shāhjahānābād (Delhi)[6], and Surat in the northwestern Indian state of Gujarat[7]. The prominence of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* in the eastern regions of the Islamicate world is further reflected in its transmission and adaptation into Persian, in the 18th century (*Taqrīb al-Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*) and into a Sanskrit version known as the *Samrāṭ Siddhānta* or *Siddhāntasārakaustubha*.[8] While only 14 manuscripts of the uncommented Isḥāq-Thābit version of the *Almagest* are known to have survived – many of them incomplete and primarily linked to transmission in the western Islamic world – the sheer prevalence of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr*, with more than ten times as many copies, demonstrates that it played a central role in the study of the *Almagest*, and became an important means for engaging with Ptolemaic astronomy in the post-classical Islamic tradition.[9]

In contrast to other Arabic commentaries on the *Almagest*, copies of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* appear to have been particularly favored as prestige manuscripts. Some were produced with elaborately decorated incipit pages, likely for patrons who sought to present themselves as major supporters of literature and science. Notably, two copies were prepared for the

1 For a transcription of the Arabic preface in MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 2941 (fols. 1v-2r), see Hullmeine, Transcription of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The text is partially translated and discussed in Saliba, *Almagest* commentaries.

2 Löhr, Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī.

3 Brockelmann lists some of these in *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, 511; and in its *Supplement*, vol. 1, 925 and 930-931. For a more extensive list, see also the database of the Islamic Scientific Manuscripts Initiative (ISMI) at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, ("Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī": https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/index.php/text/122359), as well as Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts. The webpage of the Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus project provides the most complete account; see Löhr, Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī.

4 Löhr, MS Sipahsālār 592.

5 Boehm and van Dalen, MS Majlis, 3853.

6 MS Aligarh, Maulana Azad Library, Suleman 165/25, p. 185. See also Boehm, MS Suleman 165/25.

7 Van Dalen, MS Jaipur 348.

8 For this version, consult Sharma, *Samrād Jagannāth-Viracita*.

9 For descriptions of the manuscripts of the Isḥāq-Thābit version see Rezvani, al-Majisṭī (tr. Isḥāq/Thābit).

Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446 and 1451-1481): one completed in 849/1445-46[10] during his first reign, and a second, far more richly decorated, in 870/1465.[11] However, while such luxury copies exist – and occasionally also feature marginal annotations – the majority of surviving manuscripts are more modest in presentation and are frequently heavily annotated, hinting at active scholarly engagement with the text.

Many of the annotated manuscripts contain references to, and excerpts from, commentaries rooted in the same scholarly tradition. The parallel study of Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Nīsābūrī's (d. 730/1329) *Tafsīr Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*[12], al-Bīrjandī's (fl. 913/1507) *Sharḥ Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*[13], and, less frequently, Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī's (d. 840?/1436) *Ḥāshiya*[14] is well attested. The origins of these glosses are sometimes indicated at the end of a marginal note by abbreviated sigla formed through the omission of letters – for example, *nẓ* for Niẓām[15] or *brj* for Bīrjandī[16]. However, the manuscripts also contain numerous other notes that are not necessarily drawn from identifiable sources, including unique scholarly additions, readers' reflections, and calculations. In the 16th century, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-ʿAlmawī (d. 981/1573)[17] composed a guide on how students should use books as tools for acquiring knowledge, recommending that marginal notes relevant to a work's content may be added without hesitation.[18] His guide was heavily influenced by an earlier abridgment on the same topic by Badr al-Dīn b. Jamāʿa (d. 733/1333), who advises: "A student should always note down what he reads or hears of unique lessons, intricate issues, uncommon derivatives, solutions to problems and differentiation between similar rulings in every field of knowledge. He must not be content with merely listening to a useful lesson, nor overlook a rule by merely understanding it; rather, he should rush to write it down and memorise it."[19]

From a modern perspective, disentangling the multiple layers of marginal commentary, determining when, where, and by whom they were added, is a complex task; understanding the content and function of these notes poses a further challenge. In what follows, I wish to identify and discuss a number of marginal notes that are found in the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*. These notes were also incorporated into several later copies, and thus a study of the annotations in manuscripts copied by Ilkhanid-era scribes can help identify, from a chronological perspective, at least some of the earliest layers of marginalia in extensively annotated exemplars. Such analysis may also offer insights into how the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* was studied during the Mongol period.

10 Löhr, MS Turhan Valide Sultan 219.

11 Löhr, MS Feyzullah Efendi 1360.

12 Rezvani, Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Nīsābūrī.

13 Löhr, al-Birjandī, Sharḥ Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī.

14 Rezvani, Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Majisṭī.

15 See, for example, van Dalen, MS HL 2037; van Dalen, MS Lucknow 1342.

16 See, for example, van Dalen, MS Islamic Manuscripts N.S. 463.

17 For a partial translation, see Franz Rosenthal: *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship,* 6-40.

18 al-ʿAlmawī, *al-Muʿīd fī adab al-mufīd,* trans. Rosenthal, 17.

19 Ibn Jamāʿa, *Tadhkirat al-sāmiʿ,* trans. Shah, 64.

The date of al-Ṭūsī's autograph can with relative certainty be established as 5 Shawwāl 644 (13 February 1247), as this date appears either copied or paraphrased in the colophons of numerous manuscripts. At that point, al-Ṭūsī was residing at the citadel of Alamūt, under the patronage of the Ismāʿīlīs.[20] The preface of the work mentions a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Sīwāsī, to whom it is dedicated, though he remains otherwise unidentified.[21]

As F.J. Ragep has observed, many of al-Ṭūsī's most innovative works were composed prior to his engagement with the Mongols, during his service to Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥtasham in Quhistān (*c.* 630/1232-33 to 643/1245-46). Among these are the *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* and the *Risāla-yi Muʿīniyya* and its continuation *Ḥall-i mushkilāt-i Muʿīniyya*, in which he introduced new planetary models, as well as the logical treatise *Asās al-iqtibās*. His engagement with philosophical discourse is evident in his Arabic commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*. Notably, with the exception of the latter, these works were composed in Persian – a linguistic choice that likely reflects both the demands and conventions of the scholarly milieu in eastern Iran during the early phase of his career.[22]

A shift in al-Ṭūsī's scholarly output must have occurred following his relocation to Alamūt and his subsequent entry into Mongol service. In the post-conquest period, he increasingly wrote in Arabic, aligning his scientific production with the broader traditions of the Islamic world. Hülagü's designation of Marāgha as the Ilkhanid capital in 654/1256, together with the Mongols' traditional reverence for the heavens – rooted in Tengrism, a steppe belief system that emphasized cosmic order and divine legitimation through celestial signs – created a supportive environment for the establishment of a state-funded observatory.[23] Al-Ṭūsī capitalized on this context to obtain substantial patronage and is reported to have requested a thirty-year endowment for the observatory, corresponding to a full Saturn cycle, though this request was not met.[24] In Marāgha, scholars and students benefited from institutional support, including funding and stipends, and found an ideal infrastructure for the study of various disciplines, particularly the mathematical sciences.

The earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Taḥrīr* are closely tied to this scholastic environment and largely reflect patterns of transmission between teachers and students. This is especially evident in the group of manuscripts produced by students based on an exemplar by al-Shīrāzī, the well-known scholar and former student of al-Ṭūsī, whose copy was made directly from al-Ṭūsī's autograph.[25] Unfortunately, the autograph from the Ismāʿīlī period – nor indeed any copies from the pre-Mongol era – does not appear to have survived. One manuscript, allegedly in al-Ṭūsī's own hand, is said to be preserved in a private European

20 Ragep, *Memoir on Astronomy*, 23.

21 See also Löhr, Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī.

22 On this, see Ragep, *Memoir on Astronomy*, 21.

23 More detailed accounts on al-Ṭūsī as agent within Ilkhanid milieu are found in, e.g., Yang, Like stars in the sky; Roughan, Out of Maragha.

24 Sayili, *The Observatory in Islam*, 204.

25 See Löhr, Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, esp. 311-312.

collection, but its authenticity remains uncertain.[26] Another copy, held in the Najaf collection, bears a title page with notes identifying it as an autograph, though this attribution appears to be spurious.[27]

The Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī *in Ilkhanid Iran*

The autograph copy of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, dated to the Ismāʿīlī period, is attested in Marāgha in Dhū l-Ḥijja 662 / October 1264[28] and again about a year later, when Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb made a copy of it at the madrasa of Marāgha, which he finished in Ramaḍān 663 / July 1265. Although it is uncertain whether this latter copy is still extant, at least six other manuscripts claim to have used it as a template, and it was at some point moved to India where it is recorded in Delhi in 1927 for the last time.[29]

In total, twelve surviving manuscripts with scribal colophons dated to the Ilkhanid period (1256-1335) can be identified (see list below). Although only a few specify their place of copying, all appear to have originated within the Persianate regions. The majority of these manuscripts are listed by Parra together with some concluding remarks on several early copies.[30] A closer examination of these manuscripts and their marginal annotations, along with the identification of additional copies, may help refine our understanding of the reading and transmission of the *Taḥrīr* in the 13th and early 14th centuries.

The following list gives an overview of copies of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* produced in the Ilkhanid period, in chronological order.

Shelfmark (short)	Date of copy	Place of copying
Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592[31]	29 Dhū l-ḥijja 662 / 23 October 1264	Marāgha
Cairo, Dār al-kutub, *hayʾa* Talʿat 43[32]	between 30 Ramaḍān 670 / 20 April 1272 and 9 Rabīʿ al-awwal 673 / 12 September 1274; later additions dated 898/1492-93	not mentioned
Tehran, Sipahsālār, 4727[33]	21 Rajab 671 / 11 February 1273	not mentioned

26 It is said to have belonged to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Tihrānī (d. 1285/1868-69) and apparently later found a new owner in Europe; see Āqā Buzurg, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, vol. 3, 390-391, no. 1402; Ansari, *9th Book*, 25.

27 See MS Najaf 9476.

28 MS, Sipahsālār, 592, fol. 143v.

29 On the copy from Delhi based on Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb's exemplar, see Boehm, MS Suleman 165/25; on the others, see Bellver, MS Sprenger 1838; Löhr, MS hayʾa 17; and MS Suleman 164/24. See also Parra, list of Arabic manuscripts, esp. 312.

30 See Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts.

31 Löhr, MS Sipahsālār 592; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 300 (no. 112).

32 Löhr, MS hayʾa Talʿat 43; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 263-265 (no. 19).

33 Löhr, MS Sipahsālār 4727; and Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 302-303 (no. 114).

Shelfmark (short)	Date of copy	Place of copying
Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3453[34]	20 Rabīʿ al-thānī 678 / 30 August 1279	not mentioned, other parts in the same collection finished in Baghdad and Shirwan
Tehran, University, microfilm 2885[35]	last day of Jumādā l-ūlā 678 / 7 October 1279	not mentioned
Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye, 2941[36]	late Shaʿbān 684 / late October 1285	not mentioned
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2583[37]	5 Shawwāl 686 / 13 November 1287	not mentioned
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 3637[38]	10 Shawwāl 691 / 23 September 1292	Shiraz in the madrasa ʿAḍūdiyya
Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3332[39]	late Jumādā l-thāniyya 692 / May-June 1293	not identified
Hyderabad, OMLRI, riyāḍī 405[40]	mostly in the hand that copied other parts in the same collection in 709/ 1309-10	other parts in Tabriz
London, British Library, IO Islamic 1148[41]	6 Muḥarram 722 / 25 January 1322	Soltaniyeh (Zanjan)
Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 2302[42]	25 Ramaḍān 732 / 20 June 1332	Tabriz

The manuscript witnesses of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* from the Mongol period offer a relatively detailed view of their production. Above I referenced only locations explicitly mentioned in the colophons; in other cases, the origin may be inferred from scribes, or internal notes. We know with certainty that copies of the *Taḥrīr* were produced in Marāgha (662/1264), Shiraz (691/1292), Tabriz (732/1332), and Soltaniyeh (722/1322). Various manuscripts further include statements and notes that are important for an understanding of the early transmission of the text, but cannot be addressed in detail here. These manuscripts attest to the role of madrasas as key sites for copying and collation: mentioned are the madrasa ʿAḍūdiyya in

34 Löhr, MS Ahmet III 3453; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 272 (no. 43).

35 Van Dalen *et al.*, MS Tehran F 2885; and Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 307 (no. 122).

36 Bellver, MS Nuruosmaniye, 2941; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 271 (no. 39).

37 Löhr, MS Ayasofya 2583; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 269-270 (no. 37).

38 Bellver, MS Ar. 3637; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 266-267 (no. 22).

39 Löhr, MS Ahmet III 3332.

40 Van Dalen, MS riyāḍī 405; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 267 (no. 25).

41 Bellver, MS IO Islamic 1148; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 273-274 (no. 47).

42 Boehm and van Dalen, MS Veliyüddin 2302; Parra, List of Arabic manuscripts, 268 (no. 30).

Shiraz,[43] the Qārfasiyya in Nishapur,[44] the madrasa Rashīdiyya in Soltaniyeh,[45] the Muʿīniyya madrasa in Qayṣariyya,[46] and the madrasa of Marāgha.[47]

Reaching the last page of a text was not necessarily considered the end of the copying process – a point vividly illustrated in a brief exchange transmitted in al-ʿAlmawī's guidelines on the scholarly use of books: "ʿUrwah b. az-Zubayr asked his son Hišām (God show favor unto them): *Did you do your copying? – Yes. – Did you compare your copy, i.e. with another correct text? – No. – Then you did not do any copying*."[48]

There is no doubt that collation was a crucial part of ensuring a manuscript's accuracy and authenticity. Some of the manuscripts listed above even record exact dates for the completion of the collation process, and this ranges from a few days to as much as one year after the copy was finished – intervals that do not necessarily reflect the actual time spent on collation:

Manuscript	Copy finished	Collation finished
Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592	29 Dhū l-ḥijja 662 / 23 October 1264	5 Rabīʿ al-thānī [663] / 25 January 1265
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2583	5 Shawwāl 686 / 13 November 1287	21 Dhū l-qaʿda 686 / 28 Dezember1287
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 3637	10 Shawwāl 691 / 23 September 1292	13 Shawwāl 691 / 26 September 1292
London, British Library, IO Islamic 1148	6 Muḥarram 722 / 25 January 1322	Muḥarram 723 / January-February 1323

The guidelines suggest that collation should be done against a copy which is known to be correct, or it should be done together with the teacher.[49] The scribes of some of the copies from the Ilkhanid period did this: MS Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592 was copied from and collated against the autograph; the text in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2583 was compared to a manuscript that was corrected and read in the presence of the author; and al-Zarkashī, the scribe of MS Tehran, Sipahsālār, 4727, collated a multiple-text manuscript including the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī.* In the collation process of one of the works in this collection, the *Tadhkira*, he even incorporated marginalia that were written by al-Ṭūsī on a copy of his works which was read to al-Zarkashī.[50]

This vivid culture of correcting and safeguarding texts likely also influenced the transmission of marginal notes when these were copied from the exemplar. At the same time, this

43 MS Ar. 3637, fol. 164v.

44 MS Ayasofya 2583, fol. 113r.

45 MS IO Islamic 1148, fol. 62r.

46 MS Tehran, F 2885, fol. 50r.

47 This was the place of copying for a manuscript in the hand of Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb, preserved for example in MS Suleman 165/25, p. 185.

48 al-ʿAlmawī, *al-Muʿīd fī adab al-mufīd,* trans. Rosenthal, 14.

49 Ibn Jamāʿa, *Tadhkirat al-sāmiʿ,* trans. Shah, 83.

50 On this, see also Ragep, *Memoir on Astronomy*, vol. 1, 74 and 81.

challenges the assumption that marginalia reflect active engagement with the text; if considered integral to its scholarly value or authority, their reproduction may have adhered to established copyist etiquette rather than resulting from interaction with the text.

Some Marginal Notes from the Ilkhanid or Pre-Ilkhanid Period

While cataloging copies of the *Taḥrīr*, I observed that many manuscripts produced in the Mongol period contain marginal notes written in the scribes' own hands, which then reappear, identical in wording, in later copies. This prompts the question of whether an analysis of marginalia found in Ilkhanid-period manuscripts can yield a better grasp of how the *Almagest* was read, studied, and transmitted in 13th-century Iran. A further question is whether some of these notes may derive from the autograph – possibly even from al-Ṭūsī himself.

As a starting point for a better understanding of this situation, I wish to focus on marginalia to Books I and II of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*. To ensure that the annotations are contemporaneous with the manuscript's production in the 13th or early 14th century and not later additions, I propose to focus on a copy with marginalia that can with relative certainty be identified as having been written in the scribe's hand. This would imply either that the notes originated with the scribe or were copied from the exemplar. Since an autograph is, to the best of our knowledge, no longer extant or possibly held in an unknown private collection, the ideal Ilkhanid manuscript for such an examination would be one closely connected to al-Ṭūsī – produced from his autograph, under his supervision, or copied by a student or close associate.

Several manuscripts come into closer consideration for this. First, MS Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592, copied in Marāgha in 662/1264 directly from the autograph while al-Ṭūsī was still active there. This manuscript contains numerous marginalia in different hands; however, its margins have been heavily repaired, and although most glosses appear to have been restored or completed, this complicates their analysis. Second, MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub, *hayʾa* Talʿat 43, written around 670-673/1272-1274, largely in the hand of Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍīʿs son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿUrḍī, presents itself as a logical candidate, but its trimmed margins impede the reading of some marginalia in his hand. The most suitable choice I believe is MS Sipahsālār, 4727, copied in 671/1273 – approximately one year before al-Ṭūsī's death – by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rabīʿ al-Zarkashī, whose activity may be linked to the scholarly environment of Marāgha. As mentioned above, this manuscript is a multiple-text codex that includes Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's recensions of both the *Elements* and the *Almagest*, together with his recension of the "Middle Books" (*al-Mutawassiṭāt*), al-Ṭūsī's collection of revised treatises that a student should study between the two major works. Al-Zarkashī copied the entire book, explicitly mentions having provided the diagrams for the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, and leaves several notes of collation in the margins of the text. Compared to the other manuscripts from the Ilkhanid period, this manuscript contains relatively few marginal notes to the first two books of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, but apart from one on p. 442, all share the distinctive features of al-Zarkashī's hand and are written with the same thick-nibbed pen as the main text.[51]

51 A detailed description is provided in Löhr, MS Sipahsālār 4727.

In the appendix to this paper, I provide a transcription of the marginalia to Books I and II of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* as transmitted through al-Zarkashī. Each note is numbered for ease of reference; I preserve al-Zarkashī's original color-coding and retain the abjad references in their undotted form, exactly as found in the manuscript. My interpretations of these notes can be inferred from the accompanying English translations and discussion in this article. In the appendix, I also provide references to folio numbers in other Ilkhanid copies where marginal notes with generally identical phrasing appear. While I will refer to the set of marginalia preserved in the margins of MS Sipahsālār, 4727 as "al-Zarkashī's notes", I do not wish to suggest that these annotations originated with al-Zarkashī himself; rather, he appears to be one of several scribes involved in their transmission.

The first marginal note to the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* in al-Zarkashī's hand (MI-1) provides information about three different versions of the *Almagest* and notes structural changes in the division of chapters.

> حاشية للمجسطي ثلث نسخ مشهورة أحدها من نقل الحجّاج والثانية من نقل إسحق وقد صحّحها ثابت والثالثة منسوبة إلى ثابت وحده ويوسم الفصول في نسخة الحجّاج بالأنواع وفي نسخة ثابت بالأبواب وقد يختلف النسخ في أعدادها وأعداد الأشكال في بعض المقالات.[52]

> "There are three well-known versions of the text. One is the transmission of al-Ḥajjāj, the second is that of Isḥāq, which was corrected by Thābit, and the third is attributed to Thābit alone. In al-Ḥajjāj's version, the chapters are labeled as *anwāʿ*, while in Thābit's version they are called *abwāb*. The copies may differ in the number of chapters and in the number of figures in some of the treatises."

This annotation appears in ten of the twelve copies of the *Taḥrīr* that are known to have been produced before the fall of the Ilkhanate.[53] In my interpretation, the note is in all these cases written in the hand of the main scribe. Of the two exceptions that omit the note, one is MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye, 2941, which is largely devoid of marginal annotations, and the other is MS Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 2302, in which the first folio – where the note would be expected – has been replaced.

For the insight it provides into the textual transmission of the *Almagest*, this gloss has attracted considerable interest from historians. The first Arabic version mentioned here was made from the Greek in 212/827-28 by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar and Sarjūn b. Hiliyā al-Rūmī for the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 813-833).[54] The second version, by Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (*c*. 830-*c*. 911) with revisions by Thābit b. Qurra (836-901), is dedicated to Abū al-Ṣaqr Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul (844-892), the minister of the Abbasid caliph al-Muʿtamid ʿalā Allāh (r. 870-892).[55] These two versions have survived in full, though the Isḥāq–Thābit translation is the most widespread and served as the base text for al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr*. An uncorrected

52 MS Sipahsālār, 4727, p. 426.

53 See appendix.

54 For an overview and related literature, consult Rezvani, al-Majisṭī (tr. al-Ḥajjāj).

55 For an overview and related literature, consult Rezvani, al-Majisṭī (tr. Isḥāq/Thābit).

translation by Isḥāq may have survived in some manuscripts.[56] The note above then mentions a third version, *attributed to Thābit alone*, which is attested in two incomplete manuscripts. The existence of this version was established by Grupe, who also identified multiple references to it – both in the main text of the *Taḥrīr* and in marginal annotations.[57]

In his 17th-century bibliographic encyclopedia *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Ḥājjī Khalīfa quotes a passage from Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī's (d. after 1436) commentary on the *Almagest* that corresponds exactly to the gloss found in the margins of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr*.[58] Kunitzsch later adopts this reference in his study on the *Almagest*, suggesting that the passage originated in Qāḍīzāda's commentary and was subsequently inserted as a note into the margins of the *Taḥrīr* copies.[59]

Without a thorough study of the early copies of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr*, this assumption makes sense. In the only known surviving copy of Qāḍīzāda's commentary, quotations from al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* are introduced with *qawlu-hu* written in red, and conclude with the abbreviation *ilkh*, short for *ilā ākhiri-hi*, meaning "until the end of it".[60] In the beginning of the text, the short quotations are additionally marked with an overline from *qawlu-hu* to *ilkh*. The gloss in question appears where the second quotation from al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* ends with *ilkh*, giving the impression that it is Qāḍīzāda's own explanatory remark.[61]

MS Tehran, Sipahsālār, 4727, along with other 13th-century manuscripts – including MS Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592, allegedly copied from the autograph in Marāgha in 662/1264 – contains the note in the hand of the main scribe.[62] These witnesses demonstrate that the gloss was already featured in the manuscripts when al-Ṭūsī was still alive. It is therefore more plausible that the note originated in the margins of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* and was only later incorporated into the commentary tradition.

The Berlin copy of Qāḍīzāda's commentary includes only a few quotations explicitly introduced with *aqūlu* ("I say") and offers no indication of the origin of the remaining explanatory notes. While the commentary still awaits thorough study before definitive conclusions can be drawn, it may like most commentary literature represent a mixture of Qāḍīzāda's own remarks and selected material he considered useful for a better understanding of the astronomical text. After Qāḍīzāda, al-Bīrjandī (d. 1528) and ʿAlī al-Jīlānī (d. 1017/1609?) also incorporated this note into their commentaries on the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*.[63] The gloss thus offers a good example of how a marginal note can become an integral part of the textual tradition, moving from the margin of the uncommented base text into the main body of the commentary (or in this case from the commentary into the super-commentary).

56 Van Dalen et al., Hitherto unknown Arabic manuscript, 628.

57 On this version and its establishment, see Grupe, Thābit-version; Grupe, *Latin Reception*, esp. 126-128; Grupe, Thābit ibn Qurra's version. See also Rezvani and van Dalen, al-Majisṭī (tr. Thābit).

58 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, vol. 5, 386-387.

59 Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 26-27, 30-31, 48.

60 That is, MS Or. oct. 274; see also Rezvani, Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Majisṭī.

61 MS Or. oct. 274, fol. 1v.

62 In MS Sipahsālār, 592 on the incipit page, partially damaged and later completed.

63 See also Löhr, Sharḥ Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī.

Engagement with Thābit's version of the *Almagest* is reflected in five additional notes that al-Zarkashī left in the margins to Books I and II of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr*.[64] These notes reflect again a structural comparison, particularly with the chapter layout attributed to Thābit b. Qurra's version, which shows the most significant differences compared to the translation by Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (revised by Thābit b. Qurra).

MI-2	حاشية وفي نسخة ثابت بنقصان بابين وزيادة أربعة أشكال
"Marginal note: In Thābit's version, there are two chapters less and four propositions added."	
MI-6	حاشية هذا الفصل وما قبله من باب ح في نسخة ثابت والجداول من باب ط
"Marginal note: This chapter and what precedes it is Chapter 8 in the version of Thābit, and the tables are from Chapter 9 [in Thābit's version]."	
MI-10	هذا الفصل مع ما قبله من باب يا في نسخة ثابت
"This chapter, together with what precedes it, constitutes Chapter 11 in Thābit's version."	
MII-1	حاشية المقالة في نسخة ثابت يب بابًا بنقصان فصل للجدول
"Marginal note: In Thābit's version, the book consists of 12 chapters, with the omission of the chapter containing the table."	
MII-13	حاشية هذا الفصل هو التاسع في نسخة ثابت
"Marginal note: This chapter is the ninth in Thābit's version."	

An examination of the surviving 13th-century copy of Thābit's version[65] confirms the statements of marginalia MI-10 and MII-13. The marginal notes MI-2 (mentioning four additional propositions or figures) and MII-1 (which claims that Book II encompasses 12 chapters) are more challenging to harmonize with our source. The remaining note, MI-6, makes sense: the proposition in Chapter 10 in the main text of the *Taḥrīr* is addressed in Chapter 8 in Thābit's version, and the tables may be assumed to be part of Chapter 9 if a reader misses the heading of Chapter 10 in MS Patna, Khuda Bakhsh, HL 3390.[66]

These marginal references to certain chapters, along with structural differences in Thābit's version compared to the Isḥāq–Thābit version, are also reproduced in the margins of nearly all *Taḥrīr* manuscripts copied in the Mongol period. Exceptions are again MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye, 2941, which contains hardly any marginalia, MS Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 2302, and MS Ar. 3637.[67] Furthermore, MI-10 is omitted in some of the witnesses.[68] MS

64 MS Sipahsālār, 4727, pp. 426 (MI-2), 430 (MI-6), 439 (MI-10), 440 (MII-1), 449 (MII-13).

65 On MS Patna, Khuda Bakhsh, HL 3390, see van Dalen et al., Hitherto unknown Arabic manuscript.

66 Some of these notes to Thābit's version have previously been discussed in Grupe, Thābit-version, esp. 150; Grupe, *Latin Reception*, 126-128; Grupe, Manuscript Jaipur 20, esp. 142-143, 145. See further Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, 31-32, on some glosses found in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ar. 2485, including MI-2; he assumes all these glosses ultimately derive from Qāḍīzāda.

67 MS Veliyüddin 2302, fol. 14v.

68 See appendix.

Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592, copied from the original, suggests that the references to Thābit's version – written in the hand of the scribe Ibn al-Bawwāb al-Baghdādī – were either present in al-Ṭūsī's autograph or added by the scribe around 1264. If the latter is correct, this would imply that most other manuscripts examined here are either directly dependent on MS Tehran, Sipahsālār, 592, or that the notes were independently incorporated into the exemplars used for other Ilkhanid copies, possibly as part of a deliberate effort by scholars in al-Ṭūsī's circle to promote a specific text-critical reading of the *Taḥrīr*.

The Commentator's Role

These references to other versions of the *Almagest* reflect a high level of philological awareness and a deliberate engagement with textual plurality, where a reader is invested in documenting multiple textual traditions. This approach to reading and annotating the *Taḥrīr* should be seen in the context of broader methodological developments in philosophical commentary literature emerging from the 11th century onward.

Wisnovsky has demonstrated that the methods and styles of early Arabic commentaries on Avicenna's *Ishārāt* provided templates for later derivative works, including al-Ṭūsī's *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*. A central concern in this tradition was *taḥqīq* (verification), which operated on multiple levels.[69] At the philological level, it required the commentator to assess the authenticity of the text as genuinely written by the author "and – more commonly – in order to verify that the manuscript witness at hand truly represented the original text that was composed by the author".[70] This established the foundation for a second, philosophical level of verification, involving critical engagement with the author's theories and arguments.

Philological *taḥqīq* required, among other elements, that a commentator identify the author, title, volumes, and chapter divisions of a work.[71] This is exemplified by the marginal note (MI-1) addressing the three Arabic versions of the *Almagest* and their respective chapter divisions, placed next to the preface of the *Taḥrīr* where al-Ṭūsī's discusses of the arrangement of chapters and propositions in the Isḥāq–Thābit version. Some of the marginal notes referring to the Thābit version go further by attempting to reconcile the internal structure of specific chapters in the Isḥāq–Thābit recension with that of Thābit's independent version. These notes highlight differences in the distribution of content – possibly reflecting an effort to harmonize structural discrepancies between the versions and to verify their completeness.

Scholarly settings in which a commentary was read probably employed the same methodological techniques[72] and may have been the origin of annotating practices of this kind. A careful textual comparison of chapter divisions in the different versions of a work did not only set grounds for an evaluation of the authenticity of the *matn* it also allowed for a more

69 For a list of the various functions of *taḥqīq*, see Wisnovsky, Avicennism and exegetical practice, 345-357.

70 Wisnovsky, Avicennism and exegetical practice, 354. On *taḥqīq* in early modern works on logic, see El-Rouayheb, Khaled, Opening the gate of verification.

71 Wisnovsky, Avicennism and exegetical practice, 354.

72 Brentjes, Codex Arab. 2697, 452.

nuanced understanding of other commentaries which discussed the same text. Among the glosses in al-Zarkashī hand we find also a note that cites al-Nayrīzī (d. 309/921) (MII-12):

حاشية قال النيريزي من حقّ هذا الشكل أن يقدّم على ما قبله لأنّه يتعلّق بفصل مطالعي المنتصبة. والمائلة أقول ليس ذلك بواجب لأنّ البرهان المتعلّق به هو الذي بعده.[73]

"Al-Nayrīzī said: This figure ought to be placed before the previous one, because it relates to the section on the rising of upright and oblique signs. I say: This is not necessary, because the proof related to it comes only in the following section."

This marginal comment apparently refers to al-Nayrīzī's lost commentary on the *Almagest* and appears in the margins of eight Ilkhanid-period copies of al-Ṭūsī's work.[74] Its presence in al-Bawwāb's handwriting in the Sipahsālār manuscript confirms that it became part of the textual tradition by 1264 or earlier.[75] This suggests that the *Taḥrīr* was, at some point, compared with al-Nayrīzī's commentary by – or in the presence of – an authoritative figure, and that the outcome of this comparison was recorded in the citation, as indicated by the use of the first-person singular *aqūlu* ("I say").

The marginalia in al-Zarkashī's hand clearly go beyond the study of the *Almagest* itself. In addition to references to al-Nayrīzī, they also include references to other mathematical works. The following table gives a list of authors and works cited in al-Zarkashī's marginalia to Books I and II of the *Taḥrīr*, arranged in the order of their first appearance.

Author	**Work mentioned**[76]
Thābit b. Qurra	*Nuskhat Thābit* (his version of the Almagest)
al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar	*Nuskhat al-Ḥajjāj* (his version of the Almagest)
Theodosius of Bithynia	*Ukar Thāwdhūsiyūs / al-Ukar*
Autolycus	*[al-Kura al-mutaḥarrika]*
Euclid	*al-Muʿṭayāt / al-Muʿṭayāt li-Uqlīdis al-mutaḥarrika*
Menelaus	*Kuriyyāt*
Euclid	*Ẓāhirāt Uqlīdis / al-Ẓāhirāt*
al-Nayrīzī	Probably his lost commentary on the *Almagest*

The references to Arabic treatises with Greek origin are perhaps best described as cross-referential or intertextual marginalia. They link specific content in the *Almagest* (or its *Taḥrīr*) to related discussions, proofs, or propositions found in a range of traditional mathematical texts as preserved and transmitted within the Arabic tradition. The multiple-text manuscript

73 MS Sipahsālār, 4727, p. 445.

74 It is not found in MSS Tehran, F2885; Nuruosmaniye, 2941; Ahmet III 3332 and Veliyüddin 2302, see the appendix for details.

75 MS Sipahsālār, 592, fol. 22r.

76 Authors and works listed here are mentioned in several notes; for references, see appendix.

copied by al-Zarkashī includes several of these texts in al-Ṭūsī's editions, often grouped under the title *Taḥrīr al-Mutawassiṭāt* ("Recension of the *Middle Books*").[77] The *Middle Books* were intended to be studied between *Euclid's Elements* and the *Almagest*. These collections varied in content but, in their standard form, typically included short treatises and selected chapters by Theodosius, Autolycus, Euclid, Archimedes, and others, designed to bridge the conceptual and technical gap between elementary geometry and Ptolemaic astronomy. Extant collections that combine the Mutawassiṭāt and the Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī in a single volume date only from the Ilkhanid period.[78] While many more survive without the *Almagest* recension – perhaps reflecting pedagogical priorities in Mongol Iran – practical considerations likely played a role as well: codices including the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* required around 150 additional folios, making them significantly larger and heavier, and thus more conveniently kept in a separate volume or separated from the collection at some point

The marginalia in Books I and II of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* penned by al-Zarkashī include cross-references to several of the treatises usually found in the *Mutawassiṭāt* collections. However, there is greater variation in the transmission and annotation practices across the Ilkhanid-period manuscripts than in the previously discussed examples. Not all of al-Zarkashī's references to the *Mutawassiṭāt* are preserved in other copies, and conversely, some additional references of the same type appear in other manuscripts but are absent from his marginalia. Moreover, certain manuscripts incorporate this material as brief interlinear reference codes rather than full marginal notes. A few examples are provided below to illustrate this practice.

Interlinear variant[79]	Standard form[80]	Marginal note
رمعط	حاشية بيّن ذلك في سابع المعطيات	MI-7
	"Marginal note: this was explained in [proposition] seven of [Euclid's] *al-Muʿṭayāt*"	
ه ح ب معط	حاشية تبيّن ذلك في ه ح ب المعطيات	MI-9
	"Marginal note: this is explained in the [propositions] 5 8 2 of [Euclid's] *al-Muʿṭayāt*"	
د منالاوس	حاشية لما في د هي كريات منالاوس	MII-6
	"Marginal note: regarding what is mentioned in [proposition] 4 this concerns Menelaus's *Spherics*"	

77 On the "Middle Books" in Islamic teaching context, see for example Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning the Sciences*, esp. 227-237.

78 See MSS Sipahsālār, 4727; Ahmet III 3453; Āstān-i Quds, 5456; riyāḍī 405; F2885.

79 Represented as found in MS Ahmet III 3332: fols. 15r (MI-7, MI-9), 21r (MII-6), 21v (MII-10).

80 MS Sipahsālār, 4727: pp. 437 (MI-7), 437 (MI-9), 444 (MII-6), 445 (MII-10).

MII-10	حاشية لما في ى من ب من الأكر	ى ب اكر
	"Marginal note: Regarding what is in [proposition] 10 it relates to [proposition] 2 in *al-Ukar*"	

I found the shortened variants in several manuscripts, sometimes with abbreviations that deviate from Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III 3332. The scribes were likely familiar with the literary context and considered the abbreviated sigla sufficient for navigation. A later reader of MS Istanbul, Ahmet III 3332, however, either overlooked the interlinear reference or chose to add the notes MI-7 and MI-9 again in their extended form in the adjacent margin – possibly as part of a collation process or to track his own engaged reading.

From Ibn Jamāʿa, active in the 13th-century Mamluk regions, we learn that the practice of red interlinear annotations was frowned upon: "A student should not write notes in between lines. Some scholars did so with a red pen to tell them apart from the text, but this is not advisable."[81] Furthermore, al-ʿAlmawī recommends that if abbreviations are used, they should be preceded by a key at the beginning of the book – though this practise was hardly followed in the context of a study session. Nonetheless, it reflects an awareness of the difficulties such practices pose for other readers of the manuscript.[82]

In any case, the varying styles of cross-referencing indicate that these annotations were not simply copied from one exemplar to the next; rather, readers applied the same method across manuscripts which is possibly reflecting oral study sessions in which the same cross-references were discussed. MS Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 2302 offers a good example of critical engagement with the notes, though probably dating from the post-Mongol period: in one instance, a reader crossed out a reference to Proposition 4 in [al-Ṭūsī's recension of] Autolycus after failing to verify it;[83] in another, a reader added a note that conveys the same intent as a reference found in al-Zarkashī's manuscript, but formulates it differently.

أحدها فوق الأفق والأخرى تحته [85]	في بعض النسخ نرسم م ك فوق الأرض ول ح تحته[84]
"One of them is above the horizon, and the other beneath it"	"In some copies: *we draw M-K above the earth and L-KH beneath it*"

Cross-references are also found in the margins of the several treatises that are part of the *Taḥrīr al-Mutawassiṭāt* and are transcribed and discussed by Roughan as referential scholia.[86] Furthermore, Brentjes has shown that marginal annotations to al-Ṭūsī's recension of Euclid's

81 Ibn Jamāʿa, *Tadhkirat al-sāmiʿ*, trans. Shah, 86.

82 al-ʿAlmawī, *al-Muʿīd fī adab al-mufīd,* trans. Rosenthal, 17.

83 That is MI-5 on fol. 2v.

84 MS Sipahsālār, 4727 (MII-5), p. 442.

85 MS Veliyüddin 2302, 11r.

86 See her transcription and discussion of the scholia in Roughan, *Little Astronomy*, 308-315.

Elements preserved in a copy kept in Munich, display both functions of *taḥqīq,* philological and philosophical.[87]

Some functions of *taḥqīq* can also be identified in the main text of the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, where al-Ṭūsī states in the introduction that he follows the Isḥāq–Thābit version and consistently specifies, both in the general preface and at the beginning of each book, the exact number of chapters and corresponding propositions. In Chapter II.6, alternative readings drawn from a table of parallels in another copy in the hand of al-Bīrūnī (*nuskha ʾukhra bi-khaṭṭ Abī Rayḥān*) are included;[88] these alternatives are marked interlinearly in red and it remains unclear whether they should be regarded as later annotations or as part of the *matn*. Throughout the *Taḥrīr*, the boundaries between annotation and main text are occasionally blurred, as al-Ṭūsī deliberately incorporates variant sources, perhaps even at different stages of his career. It is also known that al-Ṭūsī composed a small collection of glosses intended to accompany the study of the *Almagest.* This text includes several glosses drawn from Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī's *Qānūn* and is closely connected to the scholarly environment of Marāgha.[89] Treatises like this and the marginalia in Ilkhanid copies of the *Taḥrīr* reflect sustained efforts to read the *Almagest* alongside and in contrast to various mathematical texts and different manuscript versions, drawing on sources that may have been more accessible there than ever before. The above-mentioned table also references the version of the *Almagest* by al-Ḥajjāj, although the degrees cited do not match the variant readings in either of the two surviving manuscripts;[90] the reasons for this discrepancy may be manifold.

Although it cannot be determined with certainty whether the alternative readings from a copy of al-Ḥajjāj or from al-Bīrūnī were inserted into the table by al-Ṭūsī himself, their presence in all Ilkhanid-period copies, including those based on the autograph, strongly suggests that they were already part of what the copyists found in the original. Likely much of al-Ṭūsī's later work – beginning with *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* completed in 644/1246 while he was still residing in the citadel of Alamūt under Ismāʿīlī patronage[91] – adopts a variety of *taḥqīq* functions. His reworkings of the *Middle Books*, along with his editions of the *Almagest* and *Elements*, all belong to this period. In the final phase of his life (654-672/1256-1274), during his service under Mongol patronage, he seems to have focused on consolidating and systematizing these earlier achievements rather than breaking new ground.[92]

As with the interlinear cross-references and the alternative readings in Chapter II.6, al-Ṭūsī and those studying his texts made deliberate and systematic use of red ink to distinguish layers of content. The surviving manuscripts consistently preserve this distinction: diagrams from the Isḥāq–Thābit corpus are typically drawn with red lines and black geometric points, while supplementary material reverses this scheme – black lines with red points –

87 Brentjes, Codex Arab. 2697.

88 See for example MS Sipahsālār, 4727, p. 443.

89 See Hullmeine, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Multaqaṭāt.

90 cf. MSS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 680, fol. 19r and London, British Library, Add. 7474, fol. 37r.

91 Dating from Ragep, *Memoir on Astronomy*, 23.

92 Ragep, *Memoir on Astronomy*, 21.

a convention al-Ṭūsī explicitly notes in his introduction.[93] Additionally, the numbering of propositions in al-Ṭūsī's reference works appears in red in the margins visually separated from the text block, allowing for quick browsing and navigation between the propositions of the individual works. The layout of marginal numbering and the visual separation of different sources, achieved through the strategic use of red ink, in manuscripts featuring al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr* literature appears particularly well suited for *taḥqīq*.

From ḥāshiya *to* min-hu

Philological *taḥqīq* is attested also in a marginal note ascribed to al-Ṭūsī own hand, reproduced in two manuscripts of Avicenna's *Shifāʾ*.[94] In this instance, two scribes copy a note from the margin of al-Ṭūsī's own copy, in which he remarks that the total number of theorems in a given treatise – when including one added by Thābit – amounts to thirty-eight, suggesting that al-Ṭūsī annotated his personal books according to the principles of *taḥqīq*. The cases in which explicit mention to al-Ṭūsī is made in selected notes are rare. In some manuscripts copied several centuries after the Mongol period, however, scribal practices and forms of attribution suggest that the notes from the Ilkhanid copies are presented as the work of al-Ṭūsī himself.

During the Ilkhanid period, the set of notes copied by al-Zarkashī – as well as similar annotations in the other Ilkhanid manuscripts – are introduced by the term *ḥāshiya* (lit. "margin" or "gloss"), typically spelled out in full and often rubricated. This term is commonly found in the margins of manuscripts, though more often appears in abbreviated forms such as *ḥ*, *ḥh*, *ḥyh(a)*, or *ḥsh*.[95] In general usage, it refers to any content added in the margins, but more specifically it is used for substantial marginal commentaries – multi-line notes either composed by a reader or copied from another source. Over time, the term appears to have been transferred from manuscript annotation practices to the titles of works, where it came to function synonymously with *sharḥ* (commentary), or as part of compound titles for super-commentaries (*ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ*).[96] Notably, Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī's commentary, which incorporates the marginal note on the three versions of the *Almagest*, is itself referred to as *Ḥāshiyat Majisṭī li-Qāḍī Zāda*.

In the later manuscript tradition, the use of the fully spelled-out term *ḥāshiya* becomes less common for identifying the marginalia transmitted through al-Zarkashī. Instead, some annotations already attested in the Ilkhanid period appear in 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts marked with the siglum *min-hu*. One such example is MS Mashhad, Dānishgāh, Ilahiyyāt 673,[97] a copy of the *Taḥrīr* completed on 12 Ṣafar 1086 / 8 May 1675 in Isfahan. The

93 see Hullmeine, Transcription of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī or the translated extracts in Saliba, *Almagest* commentaries.

94 For transcriptions and translations of these notes, see Di Vincenzo, Early exegetical practice, 43. The reference pertains to MSS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 2710, fol. 261r; Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhar al-Sharīf, Bekhīt 331, fol. 259r.

95 Gacek, *Vademecum*, 114-117.

96 Brentjes, Mathematical commentaries, 56.

97 Boehm, MS Ilahiyyāt 673.

scribe, Muḥammad Fakhr al-Dīn al-Najafī, notes that his exemplar had been collated against a manuscript attributed to al-Ṭūsī himself.

In the margins of this manuscript, several notes – including the one on the different Arabic versions of the *Almagest* and those concerning the chapter arrangement in Thābit's version – conclude either with the phrase *bi-khaṭṭi-hi* ("in his hand"),[98] or with *min-hu* ("from him").[99] The reference to al-Nayrīzī's now-lost commentary also concludes with *min-hu*.[100] Both expressions are described by Gacek as gloss categories "which in most cases can be traced to the author himself".[101] The abbreviation *min-hu* was typically employed to denote non-obligatory additions by the author or glosses drawn from other works by the same author.[102] The notes thus serve as indicators used by scribes to mark material believed to originate with the author.

As Quiring-Zoche has pointed out, the earliest occurrences of *minhiyyāt* appear in mid-13th-century Damascus, and the term only becomes gradually more common in manuscripts from the Persianate regions beginning in the 14th century, well after al-Ṭūsī wrote the *Taḥrīr*.[103] In the case of the marginal notes in the Mashhad copy – apparently written in the hand of the scribe Muḥammad Fakhr al-Dīn al-Najafī – the phrases *bi-khaṭṭi-hi* and *min-hu* may at first appear to be used interchangeably. However, it is more likely that the scribe intended to convey a distinction in meaning. In the colophon, al-Najafī refers both to the hand of the editor, that is, al-Ṭūsī (*khaṭṭ al-muḥarrir*), and to the hand of the exemplar's scribe, that is, Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad (*khaṭṭ al-nāsikh*). He explicitly states that the marginal notes in the exemplar were copied in the hand of Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad: *ḥawāshī naqlan bi-khaṭṭ al-sharīf ʿalā al-ʿabd Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad*.

From this, I understand that several notes known from the Ilkhanid period were already present in the exemplar written by Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had compared his manuscript against the autograph. The copyist of the Mashhad manuscript, al-Najafī, noticed that the marginalia were written in Niẓām al-Dīn's handwriting, marking them in his own copy with the phrase *bi-khaṭṭihi*. The *min-hu* siglum, on the other hand, following general annotation practices, typically indicates a connection to the author of the work. It may reflect the interpretation of the scribe of the exemplar, who possibly encountered the notes in the autograph. Alternatively, it could have been added by al-Najafī himself or derived from another source containing the same glosses. That *minhiyyāt* may not only have been replicated but also composed by copyists and readers, an aspect also noted by Quiring-Zoche, complicates any attempt at analysis or attribution to the original author.

What this phenomenon suggests is that by marking annotations with *min-hu* – some of which originate in the Ilkhanid or even pre-Ilkhanid period – they came to be attributed to

98 MS Ilahiyyāt 673, fols. 1r (MI-1, MI-2), 5v (MI-6).

99 MS Ilahiyyāt 673, fols. 16r (MI-10), 17r (MII-1).

100 MS Ilahiyyāt 673, fol. 21v (MII-12).

101 Gacek, *Vademecum*, 115.

102 On this scribal practise see also Şen, Authoring and Publishing.

103 Quiring-Zoche, Minhīyāt, 987.

Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, as they were perceived as notes deriving from him, whether as glosses or excerpts from other works. While the historical accuracy of this attribution remains uncertain, the transmission history shows that these glosses became closely associated with al-Ṭūsī through the very act of labeling them *min-hu*.

Conclusion

This essay has aimed to offer some preliminary observations on the marginal annotations found in copies of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* transmitted from the Ilkhanid period. The focus was on the marginalia in the first two books of the *Taḥrīr*, as found in the hand of the scribe al-Zarkashī in MS Sipahsālār, 4727. This manuscript appears to be the earliest Ilkhanid copy in which such annotations are clearly preserved in the scribe's own hand, and not trimmed, damaged, or partially restored.

A closer examination of these annotations offers a glimpse into a scholastic environment in which the *Almagest* was not read in an isolated way but in comparison to related textual traditions. The marginalia analyzed here refer to other Arabic versions of the *Almagest* (particularly that of Thābit), engage with al-Nayrīzī's now-lost commentary, and include cross-references to classical Greek mathematical works frequently found in multiple-text manuscripts that transmit al-Ṭūsī's recension of the *Kitāb al-Mutawassiṭāt*. This exegetical approach can be linked to broader methodological practices applied in philosophical commentary literature from the 12th century onward, known as *taḥqīq* (verification). The notes in al-Zarkashī's hand found in the first two books of the *Taḥrīr* clearly reflect a philological function of this method, taking multiple textual traditions into account as a means of verifying the authenticity of both the text and the manuscripts that transmit it. The glosses also reflect discussions about the arrangement and correct sequencing of figures and propositions, but they do not apply *taḥqīq* in a more philosophical sense – where individual propositions are critically examined – at least not in the marginalia al-Zarkashī transmits in the first two books. As noted, al-Ṭūsī employs red ink in the *Taḥrīr* to distinguish between different sources and to help the reader navigate more efficiently through the text. This layout, while also found in other works of his, clearly facilitated a critical reading within the framework of *taḥqīq*, enabling readers to move easily between propositions. It appears as well in the *Mutawassiṭāt* and would have been especially useful in multi-text manuscripts like MS Sipahsālār 4727, where readers navigated – perhaps during reading sessions – between the *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* and other texts.

The marginalia in the first two books of al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, as preserved in MS Sipahsālār, 4727 and written in the hand of al-Zarkashī, are – aside from a few exceptions – also found in the other copies from the Ilkhanid-era. While references to al-Nayrīzī and other versions of the *Almagest* are generally transmitted with consistent wording, the cross-references to the *Mutawassiṭāt* show greater variation. Some are omitted entirely, while others appear abbreviated in red, inserted between the lines – so compressed that later readers sometimes missed or struggled to understand the intended reference and added it again in full in the margin.

The annotations examined here are typically written in the same hand as the main text in Ilkhanid manuscripts, and were likely regarded as part of the established commentary tradition. A particularly noteworthy example is the copy produced by the illuminator al-Bawwāb in 1264, reportedly copied directly from al-Ṭūsī's autograph. While it is possible that al-Bawwāb was the first to add these exegetical glosses – several of which are later reproduced

verbatim in other Ilkhanid copies – it is more plausible that the glosses were already present in the autograph, during al-Ṭūsī's lifetime, or were preserved and transmitted by scholars in al-Ṭūsī's immediate circle as part of an authoritative exegetical reading.

Over time, authors of super-commentaries may have included elements of Ilkhanid or even pre-Ilkhanid marginalia. The first of the marginalia transmitted through al-Zarkashī – which discusses the existence of multiple Arabic versions of the *Almagest* – holds a particularly prominent place in the later transmission tradition. It not only appears in numerous subsequent manuscript copies but is also cited in the super-commentaries of al-Bīrjandī Qāḍīzāda, and ʿAlī al-Jīlānī. Some of these marginal notes including a quote from al-Nayrīzī's lost commentary were later classified as *minhiyyāt*. A case in point is MS Mashhad, Dānishgāh, Ilahiyyāt 673, based on a copy collated against the autograph, where the scribe ends several notes known from MS Sipahsālār, 4727 with the siglum *min-hu*, suggesting that scribes several generations removed from the original production of the *Taḥrīr* regarded al-Ṭūsī as the author of at least some of these annotations.

Appendix

The following table presents a transcription of al-Zarkashī's marginal annotations to Books I and II in Sipahsālār 4727, compared to other extant copies of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* from the Ilkhanid period. I have provided the *abjad* notation as it appears in the manuscript, undotted and preserving the scribes' original color coding. (For references to the PAL Catalogue and Parra, here now 231-232.)

S 4727 = Tehran, Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-i Shahīd Muṭahharī (Sipahsālār), 4727 (671/1273; glosses in the hand of the scribe Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rabīʿ al-Zarkashī; mostly introduced with rubricated *ḥāshiya;* manuscript collated; marginalia for another text in this codex derived from al-Ṭūsī)	D 3637 = Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 3637 (691/1292 in Shiraz; copied in the hand of al-Shīrāzī's student al-Arzawānī al-Turkistānī, "al-Zarkashī's" glosses occasionally introduced with *ḥāshiya)*
S 592 = Tehran, Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-i Shahīd Muṭahharī (Sipahsālār), 592 (662/1264 at Marāgha from the autograph; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses in the hand of the scribe Ibn al-Bawwāb al-Baghdādī; mostly introduced with rubricated *ḥāshiya*; margins repaired; some marginalia erased)	T 3332 = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Ahmet III 3332 (692/1293; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses in the hand of the unknown scribe, often introduced by rubricated *ḥāshiya*)
C 43 = Cairo, Dār al-kutub, *hayʾa* Talʿat 43 (mostly 670–673/1272–1274; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses in the hand of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿUrḍī, introduced with *ḥāshiya*; occasionally trimmed; pages typically containing MI-7 to MI-9 in a later hand)	H 405 = Hyderabad, OMLRI, riyāḍī 405 (around 709/1309-10; copied by Maqbūl b. Aṣīl al-Rūmī al-Qīrshahrī from al-Shīrāzī who copied it from al-Ṭūsī's autograph; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses mostly by the scribe and often labelled *hāshiya*)
T 3453 = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Ahmet III 3453 (678/1279; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses mostly in the hand of the scribeʿAbd al-Kāfī b. ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tabrīzī and often introduced with *ḥāshiya*)	L 1148 = London, British Library, IO Islamic 1148 (686/1287; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses by the unknown scribe, often labelled *hāshiya*)

F 2885 = Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi markazi-i Dānishgāh-i Tehrān F2885
(678/1279; text and some marginalia copied from a MS in the hand of al-Shīrāzī; "al-Zarkashī's" glosses probably in the scribe's hand and mostly introduced with *ḥāshiya*)

B 2302 = Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin 2302
(732/1332 in Tabriz by Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qummī, later al-Astarābādī, first folio replaced; extensive glosses, including a significant part from Qāḍī-Zāda's commentary)

N 2941 = Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 2941
(684/1285; with a long note by al-Shīrāzī on the title page; generally devoid of glosses)

* = as interlinear glosses in abbreviated forms

A 2583 = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2583
(686/1287; notes in the hand of the scribe al-Arzawānī, born al-Turkistānī, student of al-Shīrāzī, introduced with the rubricated word *ḥāshiya;* compared to a manuscript that was corrected and read in the presence of the author)

Sig.	7274 S	S 592	C 43	T 3453	F 2885	N 2941	A 2583	D 3637	T 3332	H 405	L 1148	B 2302
MI-1 (p.426)	حاشية للمجسطي ثلث نسخ مشهورة أحدها من نقل الحجّاج والثانية من نقل إسحق وقد صحّحها ثابت والثالثة منسوبة إلى ثابت وحده ويوسم الفصول في نسخة الحجّاج بالأنواع وفي نسخة ثابت بالأبواب وقد يختلف النسخ في أعدادها وأعداد الأشكال في بعض المقالات.	2v	1v	184v	54v	--	1v	2r	1v	249v	1v	--
MI-2 (p.426)	حاشية وفي نسخة ثابت بنقصان بابين وزيادة أربعة أشكال	3r	1v	184v	54v	--	2r	--	1v	249v	1v	--
MI-3 (p.426)	حاشية هي في المقالة الخامسة من كتاب بعد الطبيعة	3r	1v	184v	55r	--	2r	2v	2r	--	--	--
MI-4 (p.429)	لشكل د من مقالة ا من أكر ثاودوسيوس	--	3v	186r	--	--	4r	5v*	--	251v	-- (?)	--
MI-5 (p.429)	لما في شكل حـ من كتاب اوطولوقس	5v	4r	186v	--	--	4v	6v	4r	252r	3r*	2v
MI-6 (p.430)	حاشية هذا الفصل وما قبله من باب ح في نسخة ثابت والجداول من باب ط	6r	4v	186v	57r	--	4v	7r	4v	252	3r	3r
MI-7 (p.437)	حاشية بيّن ذلك في سابع المعطيات	--	--	191v	63r*	--	11v	16r*	15r*	257r	7r*	7v*
MI-8 (p.437)	حاشية تبيّن؟ ذلك في ه ح ب المعطيات	14v	--	191v	63r*	--	11v	16r*	15r*	257v	7r*	7v*
MI-9 (p.437)	حاشية تبيّن؟ في ب من ا من الأكر ثاودسيوس	--	--	191v	63r*	--	11v	16r*	15v*	257v	7r*	-- (?)
MI-10 (p.439)	هذا الفصل مع ما قبله من باب يا في نسخة ثابت	16v	11v	193r	--	--	13v	--	--	259r	8r	--

MI-11 (p.440)	حاشية الجيوب الموضوعة في جميع هذا الكتاب هي أنصاف الأوتار الموضوعة في الأصل وكذلك القسي المنصّفة	--	12r	--	65r	--	13v	--	--	259r	8r	--
MII-1 (p.440)	حاشية المقالة في نسخة ثابت **ب** بابًا بنقصان فصل للجدول	17v	12v	--	65v	--	14v	--	18v	259v	--	--
MII-2 (p.441)	حاشية لما في **ى** من **ب** من الأكر و**ب** من الكرة المتحرّكة	--	12v	194r	65v*	--	14v	22r*	18v*	260r	8v*	-- (?)
MII-3 (p.441)	حاشية لما في **كا** من ا من الأكر	--	12v	194r	65v*	--	14v	22r*	18v*	260r	--	10r*
MII-4 (p.442)	حاشية لما بين في شكل **ط ط و ب** من الأكر	19r*	13r	194v	66r*	--	15v	23r*	19v*	om	9r*	11r*
MII-5 (p.442)	في بعض النسخ نرسم **م ك** فوق الأرض و**ل ح** تحتها	--	13r	194v	--	--	15v	--	19v	260v	9r	--
MII-6 (p.444)	حاشية لما في **د** من كريات منالاوس	21v*	15r	195v	67*	--	17v	26r*	21r*	262r	10r*	12v*
MII-7 (p.444)	حاشية لما في ظاهرات اقليدس أيضًا	--	15r	195v	-- (?)	--	17v	--	--	262r	10r*	--
MII-8 (p.444)	حاشية **ك ل م** كأفق لخطّ الاستواء ول يطلع قبل م لما بيّن في سابع الظاهرات	21v	15r	195v	68r	--	17v	26v	21r	262v	--	--
MII-9 (p.445)	حاشية وقد بيّن تساويهما في **د** من هذه المقالة و**ه** من الظاهرات	22r	--	196r	--	--	18r	27r	21v	262v	--	--
MII-10 (p.445)	حاشية لما في **ى** من **ب** من لأكر	--	15v	196r	68r*	--	18v	27r*	21v*	262v	10r*	13r*
MII-11 (p.445)	حاشية لما في **ب** من لأكر المتحرّكة	--	15v	196r	68r*	--	18v	27r*	21v*	262v	10v*	13r*
MII-12 (p.445)	حاشية قال النيريزي من حقّ هذا الشكل أن يقدّم على ما قبله لأنّه يتعلّق بفصل مطالعي المنتصبة. والمائلة أقول ليس ذلك بواجب لأنّ البرهان المتعلّق به هو الذي **بعده**	**22r**	**15v**	**196r**	--	--	**18v**	--	**21v**	**262v**	**10r**	--
MII-13 (p.449)	**حاشية هذا الفصل هو** التاسع في نسخة ثابت	24r	16v	197r	69v	--	19v	29r	--	264r	--	14v
MII-14 (p.449)	حاشية بعكس د من ا من كريات مانالاوس	24v	16v	197r	70r*	--	20r	29v	23v*	264v	11v*	14v*
MII-15 (p.449)	لما في **ب** من **ا** من كريات مانالاوس	24v*	16v	197r	70r*	--	20r	30r*	23v*	264v	11v	14v*
MII-16 (p.449)	حاشية **ا ب حـ, ب ه د** تقاطعًا على قوائم بشك **بو** من **ا** من الأكر و**ب ه د** يمرّ بقطب **ا ب حـ** بشكل **بد** منه وكذلك **ا ه حـ** بقطب **ا ب حـ** فه قطب **ا ب حـ** فه **د** ربع	24v	16r	197r	70r	--	20r	30r	23v	264v	11v	--

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